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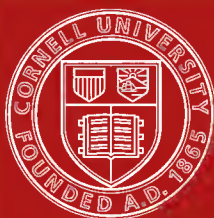
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Composition of Indian geographical names



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THE COMPOSITION
OF
INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES,
ILLUSTRATED FROM THE
ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.

BY
J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL,
PRESIDENT OF THE CONNECTICUT HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

From the Conn. Historical Society's Collections, Vol. II.

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ON THE COMPOSITION OF

INDIAN GEOGRAPHICAL NAMES.

A PROPER NAME has been defined to be “a mere mark put upon an individual, and of which it is the characteristic property *to be destitute of meaning*.”* If we accept this definition, it follows that there are no proper names in the aboriginal languages of America. Every Indian synthesis—names of persons and places not excepted—must “preserve the consciousness of its roots,” and must not only have a meaning but be so framed as to convey that meaning with precision, to all who speak the language to which it belongs. Whenever, by phonetic corruption or by change of circumstance, it loses its self-interpreting or self-defining power, it must be discarded from the language. “It requires tradition, society, and literature to maintain forms which can no longer be analyzed at once.”† In our own language, such forms may hold their places by prescriptive right or force of custom, and names absolutely unmeaning, or applied without regard to their original meaning, are accepted by common consent as the distinguishing marks of persons and places. We call a man William or Charles, Jones or Brown,—or a town, New Lebanon, Cincinnati, Baton Rouge, or Big Bethel—just as we put a number on a policeman’s badge or on a post-office box, or a trade-mark on an article of merchandise ; and the number and the mark are as truly and in nearly the same sense proper names as the others are.

* Mill’s Logic, B. I. ch. viii.

† Max Müller, Science of Language, (1st Series,) p. 292.

Not that personal or proper names, in any language, were *originally* mere arbitrary sounds, devoid of meaning. The first James or the first Brown could, doubtless, have given as good a reason for his name as the first Abraham. But changes of language and lapse of time made the names independent of the reasons, and took from them all their significance. Patrick is not now, *eo nomine*, a 'patrician;' Bridget is not necessarily 'strong' or 'bright;' and in the name of Mary, hallowed by its associations, only the etymologist can detect the primitive 'bitterness.' Boston is no longer 'St. Botolph's Town;' there is no 'Castle of the inhabitants of Hwiccia' (*Hwic-wara-ceaster*) to be seen at Worcester; and Hartford is neither 'the ford of harts,' (which the city seal has made it,) nor 'the red ford,' which its name once indicated.

In the same way, many Indian geographical names, after their adoption by Anglo-American colonists, became unmeaning sounds. Their original character was lost by their transfer to a foreign tongue. Nearly all have suffered some mutilation or change of form. In many instances, hardly a trace of the original can be detected in the modern name. Some have been separated from the localities to which they belonged, and assigned to others to which they are etymologically inappropriate. A mountain receives the name of a river; a bay, that of a cape or a peninsula; a tract of land, that of a rock or a waterfall. And so 'Massachusetts' and 'Connecticut' and 'Narragansett' have come to be *proper names*, as truly as 'Boston' and 'Hartford' are in their cis-Atlantic appropriation.

The Indian languages tolerated no such 'mere marks.' Every name *described* the locality to which it was affixed. The description was sometimes *topographical*; sometimes *historical*, preserving the memory of a battle, a feast, the dwelling-place of a great sachem, or the like; sometimes it indicated one of the *natural products* of the place, or the *animals* which resorted to it; occasionally, its *position* or *direction* from a place previously known, or from the territory of the

nation by which the name was given,—as for example, ‘the land on the other side of the river,’ ‘behind the mountain,’ ‘the east land,’ ‘the half-way place,’ &c. The same name might be, in fact it very often was, given to more places than one; but these must not be so near together that mistakes or doubts could be occasioned by the repetition. With this precaution, there was no reason why there might not be as many ‘Great Rivers,’ ‘Bends,’ ‘Forks,’ and ‘Water-fall places’ as there are Washingtons, Franklins, Unions, and Fairplays in the list of American post-offices.

With few exceptions, the structure of these names is simple. Nearly all may be referred to one of three classes:

I. Those formed by the union of two elements, which we will call *adjectival* and *substantival*;* with or without a locative suffix or post-position meaning ‘at,’ ‘in,’ ‘by,’ ‘near,’ &c.

II. Those which have a single element, the *substantival* or ‘ground-word,’ with its locative suffix.

III. Those formed from verbs, as participials or verbal nouns, denoting a *place where* the action of the verb is performed. To this class belong, for example, such names as *Mushawwomuk* (Boston), ‘where there is going-by-boat,’ *i. e.*, a ferry, or canoe-crossing. Most of these names, however, may be shown by rigid analysis to belong to one of the two preceding classes, which comprise at least nine-tenths of all Algonkin local names which have been preserved.

The examples I shall give of these three classes, will be taken from Algonkin languages; chiefly from the Massachu-

* These terms, though not strictly appropriate to Indian synthesis, are sufficiently explicit for the purposes of this paper. They are borrowed from the author of “Words and Places” (the Rev. Isaac Taylor), who has employed them (2d ed., p. 460) as equivalents of Förstemann’s “Bestimmungswort” and “Grundwort,” (*Die deutschen Ortsnamen*. Nordhausen, 1863, pp. 26—107, 109—174). In Indian names, the “Bestimmungswort” sometimes corresponds to the English adjective—sometimes to a noun substantive—but is more generally an *adverb*.

setts or Natick (which was substantially the same as that spoken by the Narragansetts and Connecticut Indians), the Abnaki, the Lenni-Lenâpe or Delaware, the Chippewa or Ojibway, and the Knisteno or Cree.*

Of names of the *first* class, in central and southern New England, some of the more common substantival components or 'ground-words' are those which denote *Land* or *Country*, *River*, *Water*, *Lake* or *Pond*, *Fishing-place*, *Rock*, *Mountain*, *Inclosure*, and *Island*.

1. The Massachusetts OHKE (Narr. *âuke* ; Delaware, *hacki* ; Chip. *ahke* ; Abnaki, '*ki* ;) signifies LAND, and in local names, PLACE OR COUNTRY. The final vowel is sometimes lost in composition. With the locative suffix, it becomes *ohkit* (Del. *hacking* ; Chip. *ahki'* ; Abn. *kik* ;) *at* or *in* a place or country.

To the Narragansetts proper, the country east of Narragansett Bay and Providence River was *waⁿpan-auke*, 'east land ;' and its people were called by the Dutch explorers, *Wapenokis*, and by the English, *Wampanoags*. The tribes of the upper St. Lawrence taught the French, and tribes south of the Pis-

* It has not been thought advisable to attempt the reduction of words or names taken from different languages to a uniform orthography. When no authorities are named, it may be understood that the Massachusetts words are taken from Eliot's translation of the Bible, or from his Indian Grammar ; the Narragansett, from Roger Williams's Indian Key, and his published letters ; the Abnaki, from the Dictionary of Râle (Rasles), edited by Dr. Pickering ; the Delaware, from Zeisberger's Vocabulary and his Grammar ; the Chippewa, from Schoolcraft (Sch.), Baraga's Dictionary and Grammar (B.), and the Spelling Books published by the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions ; and the Cree, from Howse's Grammar of that language.

The character *o* (*oo* in 'food ;' *w* in 'Wabash,' 'Wisconsin'), used by Eliot, has been substituted in Abnaki words for the Greek *υ* of Râle and the Jesuit missionaries, and for the *ō* of Campanius. A small ^{*n*} placed above the line, shows that the vowel which it follows is *nasal*,—and replaces the *ñ* employed for the same purpose by Râle, and the short line or dash placed under a vowel, in Pickering's alphabet.

In Eliot's notation, *oh* usually represents the sound of *o* in *order* and in *form*,—that of broad *a* ; but sometimes it stands for short *o*, as in *not*.

cataqua taught the English, to give the name of East-landers—*Abenakis*, or *Abinakis*—to the Indians of Maine. The country of the Delawares was ‘east land,’ *Wapanachki*, to Algonkin nations of the west.

The ‘*Chawwonock*,’ or ‘*Chawonocke*,’ of Capt. John Smith,—on what is now known as Chowan River, in Virginia and North Carolina,—was, to the Powhattans and other Virginian tribes, the ‘south country,’ or *sowan-ohke*, as Eliot wrote it, in Gen. xxiv. 62.

With the adjectival *sucki*, ‘dark-colored,’ ‘blackish,’ we have the aboriginal name of the South Meadow in Hartford,—*sucki-ohke*, (written *Sicaiook*, *Suckiaug*, &c.), ‘black earth.’

Wuskowhanan-auk-it, ‘at the pigeon country,’ was the name (as given by Roger Williams) of a “place where these fowl breed abundantly,”—in the northern part of the Nipmuck country (now in Worcester county, Mass.).

‘*Kiskatamenakook*,’ the name of a brook (but originally, of some locality near the brook) in Catskill, N. Y.,* is *kiskatominak-auke*, ‘place of thin-shelled nuts’ (or shag-bark hickory nuts).

2. RIVER. *Seip* or *sepu* (Del. *sipo*; Chip. *sēpē*; Abn. *sipw*;) the Algonkin word for ‘river’ is derived from a root that means ‘stretched out,’ ‘extended,’ ‘become long,’ and corresponds nearly to the English ‘stream.’ This word rarely, if ever, enters into the composition of local names, and, so far as I know, it does not make a part of the name of any river in New England. *Mississippi* is *missi-sipu*, ‘great river;’ *Kitchi-sipi*, ‘chief river’ or ‘greatest river,’ was the Montagnais name of the St. Lawrence;† and *Miste-shipu* is their modern name for the Moise or ‘Great River’ which flows from the lakes of the Labrador peninsula into the Gulf of St. Lawrence.‡

* Doc. Hist. of New York (4to), vol. iii. p. 656.

† Jesuit Relations, 1633, 1636, 1640.

‡ Hind’s Exploration of Labrador, i. 9, 32.

Near the Atlantic seaboard, the most common substantival components of river names are (1) *-tuk* and (2) *-hanne*, *-han*, or *-huan*. Neither of these is an independent word. They are inseparable nouns-generic, or generic affixes.

-TUK (Abn. *-tegóé*; Del. *-ittuk*;) denotes a river whose waters are driven *in waves*, by tides or wind. It is found in names of tidal rivers and estuaries; less frequently, in names of *broad and deep* streams, not affected by tides. With the adjectival *missi*, 'great,' it forms *missi-tuk*,—now written *Mystic*,—the name of 'the great river' of Boston bay, and of another wide-mouthed tidal river in the Pequot country, which now divides the towns of Stonington and Groton.

Near the eastern boundary of the Pequot country, was the river which the Narragansetts called *Paquat-tuk*, sometimes written *Paquetoek*, now *Pawcatuck*, 'Pequot river,'—the present eastern boundary of Connecticut. Another adjectival prefix, *pohki* or *pahke*, 'pure,' 'clear,' found in the name of several tidal streams, is hardly distinguishable from the former, in the modern forms of *Pacatoek*, *Paucatuck*, &c.

Quinni-tuk is the 'long tidal-river.' With the locative affix, *Quinni-tuk-ut*, 'on long river,'—now *Connecticut*,—was the name of the valley, or lands both sides of the river. In one early deed (1636), I find the name written *Quinetucquet*; in another, of the same year, *Quenticutt*. Roger Williams (1643) has *Quinnihticut*, and calls the Indians of this region *Quintik-óock*, i. e. 'the long river people.' The *e* in the second syllable of the modern name has no business there, and it is difficult to find a reason for its intrusion.

'*Lenapewihittuck*' was the Delaware name of 'the river of the Lenape,' and '*Mohicannittuck*,' of 'the river of the Mohicans' (Hudson River).*

Of *Pawtucket* and *Pawtuxet*, the composition is less obvious; but we have reliable Indian testimony that these names mean, respectively, 'at the falls' and 'at the little falls.'

* Heckewilder's Historical account, &c., p. 33. He was mistaken in translating "the word *hittuck*," by "a rapid stream."

Pequot and Narragansett interpreters, in 1679, declared that Blackstone's River, was "called in Indian *Pautuck* (which signifies, a Fall), because there the fresh water falls into the salt water."* So, the upper falls of the Quinebaug river (at Danielsonville, Conn.) were called "*Powntuck*, which is a general name for all Falls," as Indians of that region testified.† There was another Pautucket, 'at the falls' of the Merrimac (now Lowell); and another on Westfield River, Mass. *Pawtuxet*, i. e. *paw't-tuk-es-it*, is the regularly formed diminutive of *paut-tuk-it*. The village of Pawtuxet, four miles south of Providence, R. I., is "at the little falls" of the river to which their name has been transferred. The first settlers of Plymouth were informed by Samoset, that the place which they had chosen for their plantation was called '*Patuxet*,'—probably because of some 'little falls' on Town Brook.‡ There was another '*Pautuxet*,' or '*Powtuxet*,' on the Quinebaug, at the lower falls; and a river '*Patuxet*' (Patuxent), in Maryland. The same name is ingeniously disguised by Campanius, as '*Poactquessing*,' which he mentions as one of the principal towns of the Indians on the Delaware, just below the lower falls of that river at Trenton; and '*Poutaxat*' was understood by the Swedes to be the Indian name both of the river and bay.§ The adjectival *pawt-* or *pauat-* seems to be derived from a root meaning 'to make a loud noise.' It is found in many, perhaps in all Algonkin languages. '*Pawating*,' as Schoolcraft wrote it, was the Chippewa name of the Sault Ste. Marie, or Falls of St. Mary's River,—pronounced *poû-at-ing'*, or *pau-at-u'*, the last syllable representing the locative affix,—“at the Falls.”

* Col. Records of Connecticut, 1677—89, p. 275.

† Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan country, 1705.

‡ See Mourt's Relation, Dexter's edition, pp. 84, 91, 99. Misled by a form of this name, *Patackosi*, given in the Appendix to Savage's Winthrop (ii. 478) and elsewhere, I suggested to Dr. Dexter another derivation. See his note 297, to Mourt, p. 84.

§ Descrip. of New Sweden, b. ii. ch. 1, 2; Proud's Hist. of Pennsylvania, ii. 252.

The same name is found in Virginia, under a disguise which has hitherto prevented its recognition. Capt. John Smith informs us that the "place of which their great Emperor taketh his name" of *Powhatan*, or *Pawatan*, was near "the Falls" of James River,* where is now the city of Richmond. 'Powatan' is *pauat-hanne*, or 'falls on a rapid stream.'

Acdwmé or *Ogkomé* (Chip. *agami*; Abn. *agaⁿmi*; Del. *achga-meu*;) means 'on the other side,' 'over against,' 'beyond.' As an adjectival, it is found in *Acawm-auké*, the modern 'Accomac,' a peninsula east of Chesapeake Bay, which was 'other-side land' to the Powhatans of Virginia. The site of Plymouth, Mass, was called 'Accomack' by Capt. John Smith,—a name given not by the Indians who occupied it but by those, probably, who lived farther north, 'on the other side' of Plymouth Bay. The countries of Europe were called 'other-side lands,'—Narr. *acawmen-óaki*; Abn. *agaⁿmen-óki*. With *-tuk*, it forms *acawmen-tuk* (Abn. *agaⁿmen-tegw*), 'other-side river,' or, its diminutive, *acawmen-tuk-es* (Abn. *agaⁿmen-tegwéssw*), 'the small other-side river,'—a name first given (as *Agamenticus* or *Accomenticus*) to York, Me., from the 'small tidal-river beyond' the Piscataqua, on which that town was planted.

Peske-tuk (Abn. *peské-tegwé*) denotes a 'divided river,' or a river which another *cleaves*. It is not generally (if ever) applied to one of the 'forks' which unite to form the main stream, but to some considerable tributary received by the main stream, or to the division of the stream by some obstacle, near its mouth, which makes of it a 'double river.' The primary meaning of the (adjectival) root is 'to divide in two,' and the secondary, 'to split,' 'to divide *forcibly*, or *abruptly*.' These shades of meaning are not likely to be detected under the disguises in which river-names come down

* "True Relation of Virginia," &c. (Deane's edition, Boston, 1866), p. 7. On Smith's map, 1606, the 'King's house,' at '*Powhatan*,' is marked just below "The Fales" on '*Powhatan fluv*,' or James River.

to our time. Râle translates *ne-peské*, “je vas dans le chemin qui en coupe un autre ;” *peskahakom*, “branche.”

Piscataqua, *Pascataqua*, &c., represent the Abn. *peské-tegwé*, ‘divided tidal-river.’ The word for ‘place’ (*ohke*, Abn. *’ki*;) being added, gives the form *Piscataquah* or *-quog*. There is another *Piscataway*, in New Jersey,—not far below the junction of the north and south branches of the Raritan,—and a *Piscataway* river in Maryland, which empties into the Potomac ; a *Piscataquog* river, tributary to the Merrimac, in New Hampshire ; a *Piscataquis* (diminutive) in Maine, which empties into the Penobscot. *Pasquotank*, the name of an arm of Albemarle Sound and of a small river which flows into it, in North Carolina, has probably the same origin.

The adjectival *peské*, or *piské*, is found in many other compound names besides those which are formed with *-tuk* or *-hanne* : as in *Pascoag*, for *peské-auké*, in Burrilville, R. I., ‘the dividing place’ of two branches of Blackstone’s River ; and *Pesquamscot*, in South Kingston, R. I., which (if the name is rightly given) is “at the divided (or cleft) rock,”—*peské-ompsk-ut*,—perhaps some ancient land-mark, on or near the margin of Worden’s Pond.

Nôen-tuk (*Nôahtuk*, Eliot), ‘in the middle of the river,’ may be, as Mr. Judd* and others have supposed, the name which has been variously corrupted to Norwottock, Nonotuck, Noatucke, Nawottok, &c. If so, it probably belonged, originally to one of the necks or peninsulas of meadow, near Northampton,—such as that at Hockanum, which, by a change in the course of the river at that point, has now become an island.

Tetiquet or *Titicut*, which passes for the Indian name of Taunton, and of a fishing place on Taunton River in the north-west part of Middleborough, Mass., shows how effectually such names may be disguised by phonetic corruption and mutilation. *Keh-te-tuk-ut* (or as Eliot wrote it in Genesis xv. 18, *Kehleihtukqut*) means ‘on the great river.’ In the

* History of Hadley, pp. 121, 122.

Plymouth Colony Records we find the forms ‘*Cautelecticut*’ and ‘*Coteticutt*,’ and elsewhere, *Kehthticut*,—the latter, in 1698, as the name of a place on the great river, “between Taunton and Bridgewater.” Hence, ‘*Teghtacutt*,’ ‘*Teightaquid*,’ ‘*Tetiquet*, &c.*

(2). The other substantial component of river-names, -HANNE or -HAN (Abn. *-tsuaⁿn* or *-taⁿn*; Mass. *-tchuan*;) denotes ‘a rapid stream’ or ‘current;’ primarily, ‘flowing water.’ In the Massachusetts and Abnaki, it occurs in such compounds as *amu-tchuan* (Abn. *ari^ttsuaⁿn*), ‘it over-flows;’ *kussi-tchuan* (Abn. *kesi^ttsuaⁿn*), ‘it swift flows,’ &c.

In Pennsylvania and Virginia, where the streams which rise in the highlands flow down rapidly descending slopes, -hanné is more common than -tuk or sepu in river names. *Keht-hanné* (*kittan*, Zeisb.; *kithanne*, Hkw.) was a name given to the Delaware River as ‘the principal or greatest stream’ of that region; and by the western Delawares, to the Ohio.† With the locative termination, *Kittanning* (Penn.) is a place ‘on the greatest stream.’ The Schuylkill was *Ganshow-hanné*, ‘noisy stream;’ the Lackawanna, *Lechauhanné*, ‘forked stream’ or ‘stream that forks:‡ with affix, *Lechauhannak* or *Lechauhannak*, ‘at the river-fork,—for which Hendrick Aupamut, a Muhhekan, wrote (with dialectic exchange of *n* for Delaware *l*) ‘*Naukhuwchnauk*,’ ‘The Forks’ of the Miami.§ The same name is found in New England, disguised as Newichawanock, Nuchawanack, &c., as near Berwick, Me., ‘at the fork’ or confluence of Cocheco and Salmon Fall rivers,—the ‘*Neghechewanck*’ of Wood’s Map (1634). *Powhatan*, for *Pauat-hanne*, ‘at the Falls on a rapid stream,’ has been previously noticed.

† *Alleghany*, or as some prefer to write it, Allegheny,—the Algonkin name of the Ohio River, but now restricted to one

* See Hist. Magazine, vol. iii. p. 48.

† Heckewelder, on Indian names, in Trans. Am. Phil. Soc. vol. iv.

‡ Ibid.

§ Narrative, &c., in Mem. Hist. Society of Pennsylvania, vol. ii. p. 97.

of its branches,—is probably (Delaware) *welhik-hanné* or *wlik-hanné*, ‘the best (or, the fairest) river.’ *Welhik* (as Zeisberger wrote it)* is the inanimate form of the adjectival, meaning ‘best,’ ‘most beautiful.’ In his Vocabulary, Zeisberger gave this synthesis, with slight change of orthography, as “*Wulach’neü*” [or *wlakhannew*, as Eliot would have written it,] with the free translation, “*a fine River, without Falls.*” The name was indeed more likely to belong to rivers ‘without falls’ or other obstruction to the passage of canoes, but its literal meaning is, as its composition shows, “best rapid-stream,” or “finest rapid-stream;” “*La Belle Riviere*” of the French, and the *Oue-yo’* or *O hee’ yo Gä-hun’-dä*, “good river” or “the beautiful river,” of the Senecas.† For this translation of the name we have very respectable authority,—that of Christian Frederick Post, a Moravian of Pennsylvania, who lived seventeen years with the Muhhekan Indians and was twice married among them, and whose knowledge of the Indian languages enabled him to render important services to the colony, as a negotiator with the Delawares and Shawanese of the Ohio, in the French war. In his “*Journal from Philadelphia to the Ohio*” in 1758,‡ after mention of the ‘Alleghenny’ river, he says: “The *Ohio*, as it is called by the Senecas. *Alleghenny* is the name of the same river in the Delaware language. *Both words signify the fine or fair river.*” La Metairie, the notary of La Salle’s expedition, “calls the Ohio, the *Olighinsipou*, or *Aleghin*; evidently an Algonkin name,”—as Dr. Shea remarks.§ Hecke-

* Grammar of the Lenni-Lenape, transl. by Duponceau, p. 43. “*Wulit*, good.” “*Welsit* (masc. and fem.), the best.” “Inanimate, *Welhik*, best.”

† Morgan’s *League of the Iroquois*, p. 436.

‡ Published in London, 1759, and re-printed in Appendix to Proud’s *Hist. of Penn.*, vol. ii. pp. 65—132.

§ Shea’s *Early Voyages on the Mississippi*, p. 75.

La Metairie’s ‘*Olighinsipou*’ suggests another possible derivation which may be worth mention. The Indian name of the Alleghanies has been said,—I do not now remember on whose authority,—to mean ‘Endless Mountains.’ ‘Endless’ cannot be more exactly expressed in any Algon-

welder says that the Delawares "still call the Allegany (Ohio) river, *Alligéwi Sipu*,"—"the river of the *Alligewi*" as he chooses to translate it. In one form, we have *wulik-hunnésipu*, 'best rapid-stream long-river;' in the other, *wuliké-sipu*, 'best long-river. Heckewelder's derivation of the name, on the authority of a Delaware legend, from the mythic 'Alligewi' or 'Talligewi,'—"a race of Indians said to have once inhabited that country," who, after great battles fought in pre-historic times, were driven from it by the all-conquering Delawares,*—is of no value, unless supported by other testimony. The identification of *Alleghany* with the Seneca "*De ó na gā no*, cold water" [or, cold spring,†] proposed by a writer in the *Historical Magazine* (vol. iv. p. 184), though not apparent at first sight, might deserve consideration if there were any reason for believing the name of the river to be of Iroquois origin,—if it were probable that an Iroquois name would have been adopted by Algonkin nations,—or, if the word for 'water' or 'spring' could be made, in any American language, the substantival component of a *river* name.

From the river, the name appears to have been transferred by the English to a range of the "Endless Mountains."

3. NIPPE, NIPPI (= *n'pi*; Narr. *nip*; Muhh. *nup*; Abn. and Chip. *nebi*; Del. *n'bi*;) and its diminutives, *nippisse* and *nips*, were employed in compound names to denote WATER, generally, without characterizing it as 'swift flowing,' 'wave moved,' 'tidal,' or 'standing:' as, for example, in the name of a part of a river, where the stream widening with diminished current becomes lake-like, or of a stretch

kin language than by 'very long' or 'longest,'—in the Delaware, *Eluwi-guneu*. "The very long or longest river" would be *Eluwi-guneu sipu*, or, if the words were compounded in one, *Eluwi-gunesipu*.

* Paper on Indian names, *ut supra*, p. 367; Historical Account, &c., pp. 29—32.

† Morgan's League of the Iroquois, pp. 466, 468.

of tide-water inland, forming a bay or cove at a river's mouth. By the northern Algonkins, it appears to have been used for 'lake,' as in the name of *Missi-nippi* or *Missinabe* lake ('great water'), and in that of Lake *Nippissing*, which has the locative affix, *nippis-ing*, 'at the small lake' north-east of the greater Lake Huron, which gave a name to the nation of 'Nipissings,' or as the French called them, '*Nipissiriniens*,'—according to Charlevoix, the true Algonkins.

Quinnipiac, regarded as the Indian name of New Haven,—also written *Quinnypiock*, *Quinopiocke*, *Quillipiaek*, &c., and by President Stiles* (on the authority of an Indian of East Haven) *Quinnepyooqhq*,—is, probably, 'long water place,' *quinni-nippe-ohke*, or *quin-nipi-ohke*. *Kennebec* would seem to be another form of the same name, from the Abnaki, *koné-be-ki*, were it not that Râle wrote,† as the name of the river, '*Aghenibékki*'—suggesting a different adjectival. But Biard, in the *Relation de la Nouvelle-France* of 1611, has '*Kini-bequi*,' Champlain, *Quinebequy*, and Vimont, in 1640, '*Quini-bequi*,' so that we are justified in regarding the name as the probable equivalent of *Quinni-pi-ohke*.

Win-nippe-sauki (Winnipegsee) will be noticed hereafter. ‡

4. -PAUG, -POG, -BOG, (Abn. *-béga* or *-bégat*; Del. *-pécat*;) an inseparable generic, denoting 'WATER AT REST,' 'standing water,' is the substantival component of names of small lakes and ponds, throughout New England.‡ Some of the most common of these names are,—

Massa-paug, 'great pond,'—which appears in a great variety of modern forms, as *Mashapaug*, *Mashpaug*, *Massapogue*,

* Ms. Itinerary. He was careful to preserve the Indian pronunciation of local names, and the form in which he gives this name convinces me that it is not, as I formerly supposed, the *quinnuppohke* (or *quinuppe-ohke*) of Eliot,—meaning 'the surrounding country' or the 'land all about' the site of New Haven.

† Dictionary, s. v. 'Noms.'

‡ *Paug* is regularly formed from *pe* (Abn. *bi*), the base of *nippe*, and may be translated more exactly by 'where water is' or 'place of water.'

Massapog, &c. A pond in Cranston, near Providence, R. I.; another in Warwick, in the same State; 'Alexander's Lake,' in Killingly; 'Gardiner's Lake,' in Salem, Bozrah and Montville; 'Tyler Pond,' in Goshen; ponds in Sharon, Groton, and Lunenburg, Mass., were each of them the 'Massapaug' or 'great pond' of its vicinity.

Quinni-paug, 'long pond.' One in Killingly, gave a name to *Quinebaug* River and the 'Quinebaug country.' Endicott, in 1651, wrote this name 'Quinnubbágge' (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., iv. 191). "Quinepoxet," the name of a pond and small river in Princeton, Mass., appears to be a corruption of the diminutive with the locative affix; *Quinni-paug-es-it*, 'at the little long pond.'

Wongun-paug, 'crooked (or bent) pond.' There is one of the name in Coventry, Conn. Written, 'Wangunbog,' 'Wungumbaog,' &c.

Petuhkqui-paug, 'round pond,' now called 'Dumpling Pond,' in Greenwich, Conn., gave a name to a plain and brook in that town, and, occasionally, to the plantation settled there, sometimes written 'Petuckquapock.'

Nunni-paug, 'fresh pond.' One in Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, gave a name (Nunnepoag) to an Indian village near it. Eliot wrote *nunnipog*, for 'fresh water,' in James iii. 12.

Sonki-paug or *soⁿki-paug*, 'cool pond.' (*Sonkipog*, 'cold water,' Eliot.) Egunk-sonkipaug, or 'the cool pond (spring) of Egunk' hill in Sterling, Conn., is named in Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan country, as one of the east bounds.

Pahke-paug, 'clear pond' or 'pure water pond.' This name occurs in various forms, as 'Paheupog,' a pond near Westerly, R. I. ;* 'Pauquepaug,' transferred from a pond to a brook in Kent and New Milford; 'Paquabang,' near Shepaug River, in Roxbury, &c. 'Pequabuck' river, in Bristol and Farmington, appears to derive its name from some 'clear pond,'—perhaps the one between Bristol and Plymouth.

* A bound of Human Garret's land, one mile north-easterly from Niin-gret's old Fort. See *Conn. Col. Records*, ii. 314.

Another noun-generic that denotes 'lake' or 'fresh water at rest,' is found in many Abnaki, northern Algonkin and Chippewa names, but not, perhaps, in Massachusetts or Connecticut. This is the Algonkin *-gāmi*, *-gōmi*, or *-gumnee*. *Kitchi-gami* or '*Keche gumnee*,' the Chippewa name of Lake Superior, is 'the greatest, or chief lake.' *Caucomgomoc*, in Maine, is the Abn. *kaïkou-gami-k*, 'at Big-Gull lake.' *Temigami*, 'deep lake,' discharges its waters into Ottawa River, in Canada; *Kinou-gami*, now Kenocami, 'long lake,' into the Saguenay, at Chicoutimi.

There is a *Mitchi-gami* or (as sometimes written) *machigummi*, 'large lake,' in northern Wisconsin, and the river which flows from it has received the same name, with the locative suffix, '*Machigāmig*' (for *mitchi-gaming*). A branch of this river is now called 'Fence River' from a *mitchihikan* or *mitchikan*, a 'wooden fence' constructed near its banks, by the Indians, for catching deer.* Father Allouez describes, in the 'Relation' for 1670 (p. 96), a sort of 'fence' or weir which the Indians had built across Fox River, for taking sturgeon &c., and which they called '*Mitihikan*;' and shortly after, he mentions the destruction, by the Iroquois, of a village of Outagamis (Fox Indians) near his mission station, called *Machihigan-ing*, ['at the *mitchihikan*, or weir?'] on the 'Lake of the Illinois,' now *Michigan*. Father Dablon, in the next year's Relation, calls this lake '*Mitchiganons*.' Perhaps there was some confusion between the names of the 'weir' and the 'great lake,' and 'Michigan' appears to have been adopted as a kind of compromise between the two. If so, this modern form of the name is corrupt in more senses than one.†

* Foster and Whitney's Report on the Geology of Lake Superior, &c., Pt. II. p. 400.

† Râle gives Abn. *milseگان*, 'fianté.' Thoreau, fishing in a river in Maine, caught several sucker-like fishes, which his Abnaki guide threw away, saying they were '*Michigan fish*, i.e., soft and stinking fish, good for nothing.'—*Maine Woods*, p. 210.

5. -AMAUG, denoting 'A FISHING PLACE' (Abn. *aⁿmaⁿgan*, 'on pêche là,') is derived from the root *âm* or *âma*, signifying 'to take by the mouth;' whence, *âm-âü*, 'he fishes with hook and line,' and Del. *âman*, a fish-hook. *Wonkemaug* for *wongun-amaug*, 'crooked fishing-place,' between Warren and New Preston, in Litchfield county, is now 'Raumaug Lake.' *Ouschank-amaug*, in East Windsor, was perhaps the 'eel fishing-place.' The lake in Worcester, *Quansigamaug*, *Quansig-amug*, &c., and now *Quinsigamond*, was 'the pickerel fishing-place,' *qunno:nog-amaug*.

6. ROCK. In composition, -PISK or -PSK (Abn. *peskô*; Cree, *-pisk*; Chip. *-bik*;) denotes *hard* or *flint-like* rock;* -OMPSK or o^sBSK, and, by phonetic corruption, -MSK, (from *ompaé*, 'upright,' and *-pisk*,) a 'standing rock.' As a substantival component of local names, *-ompsk* and, with the locative affix, *-ompskut*, are found in such names as—

Petukqui-ompskut, corrupted to *Pettiquamscut*, 'at the round rock.' Such a rock, on the east side of Narrow River, north-east from Tower Hill Church in South Kingston, R. I., was one of the bound marks of, and gave a name to, the "Pettiquamscut purchase" in the Narragansett country.

Wanashqui-ompskut (*wanashquompskut*, Ezekiel xxvi. 14), 'at the top of the rock,' or at 'the point of rock.' *Wonnesquam*, *Annis Squam*, and *Squam*, near Cape Ann, are perhaps corrupt forms of the name of some 'rock summit' or 'point of rock' thereabouts. *Winnesquamsaukit* (for *wanashqui-ompsk-ohk-it*?) near Exeter Falls, N. H., has been transformed to *Swampscote* and *Squamscot*. The name of Swampscot or Swampscot, formerly part of Lynn, Mass., has a different meaning. It is from *m'squi-ompsk*, 'Red Rock' (the modern name), near the north end of Long Beach, which

* Primarily, that which 'breaks,' 'cleaves,' 'splits,' distinguishing the *harder* rocks—such as were used for making spear and arrow heads, axes, chisels, corn-mortars, &c., and for striking fire,—from the *softer*, such as steatite (soap-stone) from which pots and other vessels, pipe-bowls, &c., were fashioned.

was perhaps "The clifte" mentioned as one of the bounds of Mr. Humfrey's Swampscot farm, laid out in 1638.* *M'squompskut* means 'at the red rock.' The sound of the initial *m* was easily lost to English ears.†

Penobscot, a corruption of the Abnaki *paⁿnawwaⁿbskek*, was originally the name of a locality on the river so called by the English. Mr. Moses Greenleaf, in a letter to Dr. Morse in 1823, wrote '*Pe noom' ske ook*' as the Indian name of Old Town Falls, "whence the English name of the River, which would have been better, *Penobscook*." He gave, as the meaning of this name, "Rocky Falls." The St. Francis Indians told Thoreau, that it means "Rocky River."‡ 'At the fall of the rock' or 'at the descending rock' is a more nearly exact translation. The first syllable, *pen-* (Abn. *paⁿna*) represents a root meaning 'to fall from a height,'—as in *paⁿ-tekw*, 'fall of a river' or 'rapids;' *penaⁿ-ki*, 'fall of land,' the descent or downward slope of a mountain, &c.

Keht-ompskut, or 'Ketumpscut' as it was formerly written,§—'at the greatest rock,'—is corrupted to *Catumb*, the name of a reef off the west end of Fisher's Island.

Tomheganomset||—corrupted finally to 'Higganum,' the name of a brook and parish in the north-east part of Had-dam,—appears to have been, originally, the designation of a locality from which the Indians procured stone suitable for making axes,—*tomhegun-ompsk-ut*, 'at the tomahawk rock.' In 'Higganompos,' as the name was sometimes written, without the locative affix, we have less difficulty in recognizing the substantival *-ompsk*.

QUSSUK, another word for 'rock' or 'stone,' used by Eliot and Roger Williams, is not often—perhaps never found in local names. *Hassun* or *Assun* (Chip. *assin'*; Del. *achsin*;)

* Mass. Records, i. 147, 226.

† *Squantam*, the supposed name of an Algonkin deity, is only a corrupt form of the verb *m'squantam*, = *musqui-antam*, 'he is angry,' literally, 'he is red (bloody-) minded.'

‡ Maine Woods, pp. 145, 324.

§ Pres. Stiles's Itinerary, 1761.

|| Conn. Col. Records, i. 434.

appears in New England names only as an adjectival (*assuné*, *assini*, 'stony'), but farther north, it occasionally occurs as the substantival component of such names as *Mistassinni*, 'the Great Stone,' which gives its name to a lake in British America, to a tribe of Indians, and to a river that flows into St. John's Lake.*

7. *WADCHU* (in composition, *-ADCHU*) means, always, 'mountain' or 'hill.' In *Wachusett*, we have it, with the locative affix *-set*, 'near' or 'in the vicinity of the mountain,'—a name which has been transferred to the mountain itself. With the adjectival *massa*, 'great,' is formed *mass-adchu-set*, 'near the great mountain,' or 'great hill country,'—now, *Massachusetts*.

'*Kunckquachu*' and '*Quunkwattchu*,' mentioned in the deeds of Hadley purchase, in 1658,† are forms of *qunw^hkqu-adchu*, 'high mountain,'—afterwards belittled as 'Mount Toby.'

'*Kearsarge*,' the modern name of two well-known mountains in New Hampshire, disguises *kowass-adchu*, 'pine mountain.' On Holland's Map, published in 1784, the southern Kearsarge (in Merrimack county) is marked "*Kyarsarga Mountain*; by the Indians, *Cowissewaschook*."‡ In this form,—which the termination *ok* (for *ohke*, *auke*, 'land,') shows to belong to the *region*, not exclusively to the mountain itself,—the analysis becomes more easy. The meaning of the adjectival is perhaps not quite certain. *Kowa* (Abn. *kowé*) 'a pine tree,' with its diminutive, *kowasse*, is a derivative,—from a root which means 'sharp,' 'pointed.' It is possible, that in this synthesis, the root preserves its primary signification, and that 'Kearsarge' is the 'pointed' or 'peaked mountain.'

Mauch Chunk (Penn.) is from Del. *machk*, 'bear' and *wachtschunk*, 'at, or on, the mountain,'—according to Heckewelder, who writes '*Machkschûnk*,' or the Delaware name of 'the bear's mountain.'

* Hind's Exploration of Labrador, vol. ii. pp. 147, 148.

† History of Hadley, 21, 22, 114.

‡ W. F. Goodwin, in Historical Magazine, ix. 28.

In the Abnaki and some other Algonkin dialects, the substantival component of mountain names is *-ádené*,—an inseparable noun-generic. *Katahdin* (pronounced *Ktaadn* by the Indians of Maine), Abn. *Ket-ádené*, ‘the greatest (or chief) mountain,’ is the equivalent of ‘*Kittatinny*,’ the name of a ridge of the Alleghanies, in New Jersey and Pennsylvania.

8. -KOMUK OR KOMAKO (Del. *-kamik*, *-kamiké*; Abn. *-kamighe*; Cree, *-gómmik*; Powhatan, *-comaco*;) cannot be exactly translated by any one English word. It denotes ‘place,’ in the sense of *enclosed*, *limited* or *appropriated* space. As a component of local names, it means, generally, ‘an enclosure,’ natural or artificial; such as a house or other building, a village, a planted field, a thicket or place surrounded by trees, &c. The place of residence of the Sachem, which (says Roger Williams) was “far different from other houses [wigwams], both in capacity, and in the fineness and quality of their mats,” was called *sachimá-komuk*, or, as Edward Winslow wrote it, ‘*sachimo comaco*,’—the Sachem-house. *Werowocomoco*, *Weranocomoco*, &c. in Virginia, was the ‘Werowance’s house,’ and the name appears on Smith’s map, at a place “upon the river Pamauncke [now York River], where the great King [Powhatan] was resident.”

Kuppi-komuk, ‘closed place,’ ‘secure enclosure,’ was the name of a Pequot fastness in a swamp, in Groton, Conn. Roger Williams wrote this name “Cuppacommock,” and understood its meaning to be “a refuge, or hiding place.” Eliot has *kuppóhkomuk* for a planted ‘grove,’ in Deut. xvi. 21, and for a landing-place or safe harbor, Acts xxvii. 40.

Nashaue-komuk, ‘half-way house,’ was at what is now Chilmark, on Martha’s Vineyard, where there was a village of praying Indians* in 1698, and earlier.

The Abnaki *keta-kamigow* means, according to Râle, ‘the

* About half-way from Tisbury to Gay Head.

main land,'—literally, 'greatest place;' *teteba-kamighé*, 'level place,' a plain; *pépam-kamighek*, 'the *all* land,' 'l'univers.'

Néssawa-kamighé, meaning 'double place' or '*second* place,' was the name of the Abnaki village of St. Francis de Sales, on the St. Lawrence,*—to which the mission was removed about 1700, from its *first* station established near the Falls of the Chaudière in 1683.†

9. Of two words meaning *Island*, MUNNOHAN or, rejecting the formative, MUNNOH (Abn. *menahan*; Del. *menatey*; Chip. *minis*, a diminutive,) is the more common, but is rarely, if ever, found in composition. The 'Grand *Menan*,' opposite Passamquoddy Bay, retains the Abnaki name. Long Island was *Menatey* or *Manati*, 'the Island,'—to the Delawares, Minsi and other neighboring tribes. Any smaller island was *menatan* (Mass. *munnohhan*), the *indefinite* form, or *menates* (Mass. *munnisses*, *manisses*), the *diminutive*. Campanius mentions one '*Manathaen*,' Coopers' Island (now Cherry Island) near Fort Christina, in the Delaware,‡ and "*Manataanung* or *Manaates*, a place settled by the Dutch, who built there a clever little town, which went on increasing every day,"—now called New York. (The termination in *-ung* is the locative affix.) New York Island was sometimes spoken of as '*the island*'—'*Manaté*,' '*Manhatte*;' sometimes as '*an island*'—*Manathan*, *Menatan*, '*Manhatan*;' more accurately, as '*the small island*'—*Manhaates*, *Manattes*, and '*the Manados*' of the Dutch. The Island Indians collectively, were called *Manhattans*; those of the small island, '*Manhatesen*.' "They deeply mistake," as Gov. Stuyvesant's agents declared, in 1659,§ "who interpret the general name of *Manhattans*, unto the particular town built upon a *little Island*; because it signified the whole country and province."

Manisses or *Monasses*, as Block Island was called, is an-

* Râle, s. v. VILLAGE.

† Shea's Hist. of Catholic Missions, 142, 145.

‡ Description of New Sweden, b. ii. c. 8. (Duponceau's translation.)

§ N. Y. Hist. Soc. Collections, iii. 375.

other form of the diminutive,—from *munnoh* ; and *Manhasset*, otherwise written, *Munhansick*, a name of Shelter Island, is the same diminutive with the locative affix, *munna-es-et*. So is ‘*Manusses*’ or ‘*Mennewies*,’ an island near Rye, N. Y.,—now written (with the southern form of the locative,) *Manussing*.

Montauk Point, formerly *Montauket*, *Montacut*, and by Roger Williams, *Munnawtaukit*, is probably from *manati*, *auke*, and *-it* locative ; ‘in the Island country,’ or ‘country of the Islanders.’

The other name of ‘Island,’ in Algonkin languages, is *ABQUEDNE* or *OCQUIDNE* ; with the locative, *ahquednet*, as in Acts xxvii. 16. (Compare, Cree, *akootin*, “it suspends, is sit-uate, e.g. an island in the water,” from *akoo*, a verbal root “expressive of a state of rest.” Howse’s Grammar, p. 152. Micmac, *agwitk*, “it is in the water ;” whence, *Ep-agwit*, “it lies [sits ?] in the water,”* the Indian name of Prince Edward’s Island.) This appears to have been restricted in its application, to islands lying near the main land or spoken of with reference to the main land. Roger Williams learned from the Narragansetts to call Rhode Island, *Aquiday*, *Aquednet*, &c., ‘the Island’ or ‘at the Island,’ and a “little island in the mouth of the Bay,” was *Aquedenesick*,† or *Aquidneset*, i.e. ‘at the small island.’

Chippaquiddick, the modern name of an island divided by a narrow strait from Martha’s Vineyard, is from *cheppi-aquidne*, ‘separated island.’

Abnaki names ending in *-kaⁿtti*, or *-kontee* (Mass. *-kontu* ; Etehemini or Maliseet, *-kodiah*, *-quoddy* ; Micmac, *-kaⁿdi*, or *-aikadee* ;) may be placed with those of the first class, though this termination, representing a substantival component, is really only the locative affix of nouns in the indefinite plural. Exact location was denoted by affixing, to inanimate nouns-

* Dawson’s Acadian Geology, App. p. 673.

† 4th Mass. Hist. Collections, vi. 267.

singular, *-et*, *-it* or *-ut*; proximity, or something *less* than exact location, by *-set*, (interposing *s*, the characteristic of diminutives and derogatives) between the noun and affix. *Plural* nouns, representing a *definite number* of individuals, or a number which might be regarded *as* definite, received *-ettu*, *-ittu*, or *-uttu*, in the locative: but if the number was *indefinite*, or many individuals were spoken of collectively, the affix was *-kontu*, denoting 'where many are,' or 'place of abundance.' For example, *wadchu*, mountain; *wadchu-ut*, to, on, or at the mountain; *wadchu-set*, near the mountain; *wadchuuttu* (or *-ehtu*), in or among *certain mountains*, known or indicated (as in Eliot's version of Numbers xxxiii. 47, 48); *wadchue-kontu*, among mountains, where there are a great many mountains, for 'in the hill country,' Joshua xiii. 6. So, *nippe-kontu*, 'in the waters,' i.e. in *many* waters, or 'where there is much water,' Deut. iv. 18; v. 8. In Deuteronomy xi. 11, the conversion to a verb of a noun which had previously received this affix, shows that the idea of *abundance* or of *multitude* is associated with it: "*ohke wadchuuhkontuw*," i.e. *wadchue-kontu-w*, "the land is a land of hills," that is, where are *many* hills, or where hills are *plenty*.

This form of verb was rarely used by Eliot and is not alluded to in his Grammar. It appears to have been less common in the Massachusetts than in most of the other Algonkin languages. In the Chippewa, an 'abundance verb,' as Baraga* calls it, may be formed from any noun, by adding *-ka* or *-ika* for the indicative present: in the Cree, by adding *-skow* or *-ooskow*. In the Abnaki, *-ka* or *-kω*, or *-ikω*, forms similar verbs, and verbals. the final *'tti* of *kaⁿtti*, represents the impersonal *a'tté*, *eto*, 'there belongs to it,' 'there is there,' *il y a*. (Abn. *meskikwi'kaⁿtti*, 'where there is abundance of grass,' is the equivalent of the Micmac "*m'skeegoo-aicadee*, a meadow."†)

* Otchipwe Grammar, pp. 87, 412.

† Mr. Rand's Micmac Vocabulary, in Schoolcraft's Collections, vol. v. p. 579.

Among Abnaki place-names having this form, the following deserve notice:—

Aⁿmeswak-kaⁿtⁱ, ‘where there is plenty of alewives or herrings;’ from Abn. *aⁿmswak* (Narr. *aumsúog*; Mass. *ômmissuog*, cotton;) literally, ‘small fishes,’ but appropriated to fish of the herring tribe, including alewives and menhaden or bony-fish. Râle gives this as the name of one of the Abnaki villages on or near the river ‘Aghenibekki.’ It is the same, probably, as the ‘Meesee Contee’ or ‘Meesucontee,’ at Farmington Falls, on Sandy River, Me.* With the suffix of ‘place’ or ‘land,’ it has been written *Amessagunticook* and *Amasaquanteg*.

‘*Amoscoggin*,’ ‘*Ammarescoggen*,’ &c., and the ‘*Aumough-cawgen*’ of Capt. John Smith, names given to the Kennebec or its main western branch, the Androscoggin,†—appear to have belonged, originally, to ‘fishing places’ on the river, from Abn. *aⁿm’swa-khige*, or *aⁿm’swa-kaⁿgan*. ‘Amoskeag,’ at the falls of the Merrimack, has the same meaning, probably; *aⁿm’swa-khige* (Mass. *ômmissakkeag*), a ‘fishing-place for alewives.’ It certainly does *not* mean ‘beavers,’ or ‘pond or marsh’ of beavers,—as Mr. Schoolcraft supposed it to mean.‡

Madamiscomtis or *Mattammiscontis*, the name of a tributary of the Penobscot and of a town in Lincoln county, Me., was translated by Mr. Greenleaf, in 1823, “Young Alewife stream;” but it appears to represent *met-aⁿmswak-kaⁿtⁱ*, ‘a place where there *has been* (but is not now) plenty of alewives,’ or to which they no longer resort. Compare Râle’s

* Coll. Me. Hist. Society, iv. 31, 105.

† The statement that the Androscoggin received its present name in compliment to Edmond Andros, about 1684, is erroneous. This form of the name appears as early as 1639, in the release by Thomas Purchase to the Governor of Massachusetts,—correctly printed (from the original draft in the handwriting of Thomas Lechford) in Mass. Records, vol. i. p. 272.

‡ Information respecting the Indian Tribes, &c., vol. iii. p. 526.

met-aⁿmoak, "les poissons ont faites leurs œufs; ils s'en sont allés; il n'y en a plus."

Cobbosseecontee river, in the south part of Kennebec county, is named from a place near "the mouth of the stream, where it adjoineth itself to Kennebec river,"* and 'where there was plenty of sturgeons,'—*kabassak-kaⁿtti*.

'*Peskadamionkkanti*' is given by Charlevoix, as the Indian name of "the river of the Etchemins," that is, the St. Croix, —a name which is now corrupted to *Passamaquoddy*; but this latter form of the name is probably derived from the *Etchemin*, while Charlevoix wrote the *Abnaki* form. The Rev. Elijah Kellogg, in 1828,† gave, as the meaning of 'Passamaquoddie,' 'pollock fish,' and the Rev. Mr. Rand translates 'Pestumoo-kwoddy' by 'pollock ground.'‡ Cotton's vocabulary gives '*pâkonnôtam*' for 'haddock.' Perhaps *peskadamiok*, like *aⁿmoak*, belonged to more than one species of fish.

Of Etchemin and Micmac words having a similar termination, we find among others,—

Shubenacadie (*Chebenacardie* on Charlevoix' map, and *Shebenacadia* on Jeffry's map of 1775). One of the principal rivers of Nova Scotia, was so named because 'sîpen-ak were plenty there.' Professor Dawson was informed by an "ancient Micmac patriarch," that "*Shuben* or *Sgabun* means ground-nuts or Indian potatoes," and by the Rev. Mr. Rand, of Hantsport, N. S., that "*segubbun* is a ground-nut, and *Segubbuna-kaddy* is the place or region of ground-nuts," &c.§ It is not quite certain that *shuben* and *segubbun* denote the same esculent root. The Abnaki name of the wild potato or ground-nut was *pen*, pl. *penak* (Chip. *opin-ig*; Del. *obben-ak*); 'sîpen,' which is obviously the equivalent of *sheben*, Râle describes as "blanches, plus grosses que des *penak*:" and *shecp'n-ak* is the modern Abnaki (Penobscot) name for the bulbous roots

* Depositions in Coll. Me. Histor. Society, iv. 113.

† 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., iii. 181.

‡ Dawson's Acadian Geology, 2d ed., (London, 1868), pp. 3, 8.

§ Acadian Geology, pp. 1, 3.

of the Yellow Lily (*Lilium Canadense*). Thoreau's Indian guide in the 'Maine Woods' told him that these bulbs "were good for soup, that is to cook with meat to thicken it,"—and taught him how to prepare them.* Josselyn mentions such "a water-lily, with yellow flowers," of which "the Indians eat the roots" boiled.†

"*Segoonuma-kaddy*, place of *gaspereaux*; Gaspereau or Alewife River," "*Buonamoo-kwoddy*, Tom Cod ground," and "*Kala-kaddy*, eel-ground,"—are given by Professor Dawson, on Mr. Rand's authority. *Segoonumak* is the equivalent of Mass. and Narr. *sequanamâuquock*, 'spring (or early summer) fish,' by R. Williams translated 'bream.' And *buonamoo*,—the *ponamo* of Charlevoix (i. 127), who confounded it with some 'species of dog-fish (chien de mer),'—is the *apônaⁿ-meso* of Rasles and *papônaumsu*, 'winter fish,' of Roger Williams, 'which some call frost-fish,'—*Morrhua pruinosa*.

The frequent occurrence of this termination in Micmac, Etchemin and Abnaki local names gives probability to the conjecture, that it came to be regarded as a general name for the region which these tribes inhabited,—'L'arcadia,' 'l'Ac-cadie,' and 'la Cadie,' of early geographers and voyagers. Dr. Kohl has not found this name on any earlier map than that published by Girolamo Ruscelli in 1561.‡ That it is of Indian origin there is hardly room for doubt, and of two or three possible derivations, that from the terminal *-kâdi*, *-kodiah*, or *-kaⁿtti*, is on the whole preferable. But this termination, in the sense of 'place of abundance' or in that of 'ground, land, or place,' cannot be used *separately*, as an independent word, in any one of the languages which have been mentioned; and it is singular that, in two or three instances, only this termination should have been preserved

* Maine Woods, pp. 194, 284, 326.

† Voyages, p. 44.

‡ See Coll. Me. Hist. Society, 2d Ser., vol. i. p. 234.

after the first and more important component of the name was lost.

There are two Abnaki words which are not unlike *-kaⁿtti* in sound, one or both of which may perhaps be found in some local names: (1) *kaodi*, 'where he sleeps,' a *lodging place* of men or animals; and (2) *akoodaïoni*, in composition or as a prefix, *akodé*, 'against the current,' up-stream; as in *neð-akoté'hémen*, 'I go up stream,' and *oderakodaⁿnaⁿ*, 'the fish go up stream.' Some such synthesis may have given names to fishing-places on tidal rivers, and I am more inclined to regard the name of 'Tracadie' or 'Tracody' as a corruption of *waerakodaⁿ*, than to derive it (with Professor Dawson* and the Rev. Mr. Rand) from "*Tulluk-kaddy*; probably, place of residence; dwelling place,"—or rather (for the termination requires this), where residences or dwellings are *plenty*,—where there is *abundance* of dwelling place. There is a Tracadie in Nova Scotia, another (*Tregaté*, of Champlain) on the coast of New Brunswick, a Tracody or Tracady Bay in Prince Edward's Island, and a Tracadigash Point in Chaleur Bay.

Thevet, in *La Cosmographie universelle*,† gives an account of his visit in 1556, to "one of the finest rivers in the whole world which we call *Norumbegue*, and the aborigines *Agony*,"—now Penobscot Bay. In 'Agony' we have, I conjecture, another form of the Abnaki *-kaⁿtti*, and an equivalent of 'Acadie.'

II. Names formed from a single ground-word or substantial,—with or without a locative or other suffix.

To this class belong some names already noticed in connection with compound names to which they are related; || such as, *Wachu-set*, 'near the mountain'; *Menahan* (*Menan*), *Manati*, *Manathuan*, 'island'; *Manataan-ung*, *Aquedn-ct*, 'on the island,' &c. Of the many which might be added to these, the limits of this paper permit me to mention only a few.

* Acadian Geology, l. c.

† Cited by Dr. Kohl. in Coll. Me. Hist. Society, N. S., i. 416.

1. *Nâïag*, 'a corner, angle, or point.' This is a verbal, formed from *nâ-i*, 'it is angular,' 'it *corners*.' Eliot wrote "*yaue naiyag wetu*" for the "four corners of a house," Job i. 19. Sometimes, *nâi* receives, instead of the formative *-ag*, the locative affix (*nâi-it* or *nâi-ut*); sometimes it is used as an adjectival prefixed to *auke*, 'land.' One or another of these forms serves as the name of a great number of river and sea-coast 'points.' In Connecticut, we find a '*Nayaug*' at the southern extremity of Mason's Island in Mystic Bay, and '*Noank*' (formerly written, *Naueag*, *Naiwayonk*, *Noïank*, &c.) at the west point of Mystic River's mouth, in Groton; *Noag* or *Noyaug*, in Glastenbury, &c. In Rhode Island, *Nayatt* or *Nayot* point in Barrington, on Providence Bay, and *Nahiganset* or Narragansett, 'the country about the Point.*' On Long Island, *Nyack* on Peconick Bay, Southampton,† and another at the west end of the Island, opposite Coney Island. There is also a *Nyack* on the west side of the Tappan Sea, in New Jersey.

2. *WONKUN*, 'bended,' 'a bend,' was sometimes used without affix. The Abnaki equivalent is *wa^aghîghen*, 'courbe,' 'croché' (Râle). There was a *Wongun*, on the Connecticut, between Glastenbury and Wethersfield, and another, more considerable, a few miles below, in Middletown. *Wonki* is found in compound names, as an adjectival; as in *Wonki-tuk*, 'bent river,' on the Quinebaug, between Plainfield and Canterbury,—written by early recorders, 'Wongattuck,' 'Wanungatuck,' &c., and at last transferred from its proper place to a *hill* and *brook* west of the river, where it is disguised as *Nunkertunk*. The Great Bend between Hadley and Hatfield, Mass., was called *Kuppo-wonkun-ohk*, 'close bend place,' or 'place shut-in by a bend.' A tract of meadow west of this bend was called, in 1660, 'Cappowonganick,' and 'Capa-

* See *Narragansett Club Publications*, vol. i. p. 22 (note 6).

† On Block's Map, 1616, the "Nahicans" are marked on the easternmost point of Long Island.

wonk,' and still retains, I believe, the latter name.* - *Wnog-quetookoke*, the Indian name of Stockbridge, Mass., as written by Dr. Edwards in the Muhhecan dialect, describes "a bend-of-the-river place."

Another Abnaki word meaning 'curved,' 'crooked,'—*pík-aⁿghén*—occurs in the name *Pík-aⁿghenahík*, now 'Crooked Island,' in Penobscot River.†

3. *HÓCQUAUN* (UHQUÔN, Eliot), 'hook-shaped,' 'a hook,'—is the base of *Hoccanum*, the name of a tract of land and the stream which bounds it, in East Hartford, and of other Hoccanums, in Hadley and in Yarmouth, Mass. Heckewelder‡ wrote "*Okhúquan*, *Woákhúquoan*, or (short) *Húquan*," for the modern 'Occoquan,' the name of a river in Virginia, and remarked: "All these names signify a hook." Campanius has '*hóckung*' for 'a hook.'

Hackensack may have had its name from the *húquan-sauk*, 'hook mouth,' by which the waters of Newark Bay find their way, around Bergen Point, by the Kill van Cul, to New York Bay.

3. *SÓHK* or *SAUK*, a root that denotes 'pouring out,' is the base of many local names for 'the outlet' or 'discharge' of a river or lake. The Abnaki forms, *saⁿgók*, 'sortie de la rivière (seu) la source,' and *saⁿghede'tegwé* [= Mass. *saukituk*,] gave names to *Saco* in Maine, to the river which has its outflow at that place, and to *Sagadahock* (*saⁿghede'aki*), 'land at the mouth' of Kennebeck river.

Saucon, the name of a creek and township in Northampton county, Penn., "denotes (says Heckewelder§) the outlet of a smaller stream into a larger one,"—which restricts the denotation too narrowly. The name means "the outlet,"—and nothing more. Another *Soh'coon*, or (with the locative)

* Judd's History of Hadley, 115, 116, 117.

† Mr. Moses Greenleaf, in 1823, wrote this name, *Bakungunahík*.

‡ On Indian names, in Trans. Am. Phil. Society, N. S., vol. iv., p. 377.

§ Ibid. p. 357.

Saukunk, “at the mouth” of the Big Beaver, on the Ohio,—now in the township of Beaver, Penn.,—was a well known rendezvous of Indian war parties.*

Saganaum, *Sagana*, now *Saginaw*† Bay, on Lake Huron, received its name from the mouth of the river which flows through it to the lake.

The *Mississagas* were people of the *missi-sauk*, *missi-sague*, or (with locative) *missi-sak-ing*,‡ that is ‘great outlet.’ In the last half of the seventeenth century they were seated on the banks of a river which is described as flowing into Lake Huron some twenty or thirty leagues south of the Sault Ste. Marie (the same river probably that is now known as the Mississauga, emptying into Manitou Bay,) and nearly opposite the Straits of Mississauga on the South side of the Bay, between Manitoulin and Cockburn Islands. So little is known however of the history and migrations of this people, that it is perhaps impossible now to identify the ‘great outlet’ from which they first had their name.

The *Saguenay* (Sagnay, Sagné, Saghuny, etc.), the great tributary of the St. Lawrence, was so called either from the well-known trading-place at its mouth, the annual resort of the Montagnars and all the eastern tribes,§ or more probably from the ‘Grand Discharge’|| of its main stream from Lake St. John and its strong current to and past the rapids at Chicoutimi, and thence on to the St. Lawrence.¶ Near Lake

* Paper on Indian Names, ut supra, p. 366; and 3 Mass. Historical Collections, vi. 145. [Compare, the Iroquois *Swa-deh'* and *Óswa'-go* (modern *Oswego*), which has the same meaning as Alg. *sauki*,—“flowing out.”—*Morgan's League of the Iroquois*.]

† *Saguinam*, Charlevoix, i. 501; iii. 279.

‡ *Relations des Jésuites*, 1658, p. 22; 1648, p. 62; 1671, pp. 25, 31.

§ Charlevoix, *Nouv. France*, iii. 65: Gallatin's *Synopsis*, p. 24.

|| This name is still retained.

¶ When first discovered the Saguenay was not regarded as a river, but as a strait or passage by which the waters of some northern sea flowed to the St. Lawrence. But on a French map of 1543, the ‘R. de Sagnay’ and the country of ‘Sagnay’ are laid down. See Maine Hist. Soc. Col-

St. John and the Grand Discharge was another rendezvous of the scattered tribes. The missionary Saint-Simon in 1671 described this place as one at which "all the nations inhabiting the country between the two seas (towards the east and north) assembled to barter their furs." Hind's *Exploration of Labrador*, ii. 23.

In composition with *-tuk*, 'river' or 'tidal stream,' *sauki* (adjectival) gave names to '*Soakatuck*,' now Sangatuck, the mouth of a river in Fairfield county, Conn.; to '*Sawahquatuck*,' or '*Saukatuck-et*,' at the outlet of Long Pond or mouth of Herring River, in Harwich, Mass.; and perhaps to *Mas-saugatucket*, (*missi-saukituk-ut*?), in Marshfield, Mass., and in South Kingston, R. I.,—a name which, in both places, has been shortened to Saquatucket.

'*Winnipiseogee*' (pronounced *Win' ni pe sauk" e*), is compounded of *winni*, *nippe*, and *sauki*, 'good-water discharge,' and the name must have belonged originally to the *outlet* by which the waters of the lake pass to the Merrimack, rather than to the lake itself. Winnepesauke, Wenepesioco and (with the locative) Winnepesiockett, are among the early forms of the name. The translation of this synthesis by 'the Smile of the Great Spirit' is sheer nonsense. Another, first proposed by the late Judge Potter of New Hampshire, in his *History of Manchester* (p. 27),*—'the beautiful water of the high place,'—is demonstrably wrong. It assumes that *is* or *es* represents *kees*, meaning 'high;' to which assumption there are two objections: first, that there is no evidence that such a word as *kees*, meaning 'high,' is found in any Algonkin language, and secondly, that if there be such a word, it must retain its significant root, in any synthesis of which it makes part,—in other words, that *kees* could not drop its initial *k* and preserve its meaning. I was at first inclined to accept the more probable translation proposed by

lections, 2d Series, vol. i., pp. 331, 354. Charlevoix gives *Pûchitaouichetz*, as the Indian name of the River.

* And in the *Historical Magazine*, vol. i. p. 246.

'S. F. S.' [S. F. Streeter?] in the Historical Magazine for August, 1857,*—"the land of the placid or beautiful lake;" but, in the dialects of New England, *nippisse* or *nips*, a diminutive of *nippe*, 'water,' is never used for *paug*, 'lake' or 'standing water;'† and if it were sometimes so used, the extent of Lake Winnepiseogee forbids it to be classed with the 'small lakes' or 'ponds,' to which, only, the *diminutive* is appropriate.

4. NASHAUE' (Chip. *nássawáí* and *ashawiwi*), 'mid-way,' or 'between,' and with *ohke* or *auk* added, 'the land between' or 'the half-way place,'—was the name of several localities. The tract on which Lancaster, in Worcester county (Mass.) was settled, was 'between' the branches of the river, and so it was called '*Nashaway*' or '*Nashawake*' (*nashaué-ohke*); and this name was afterwards transferred from the territory to the river itself. There was another *Nashaway* in Connecticut, between Quinnebaug and Five-Mile Rivers in Windham county, and here, too, the mutilated name of the *nashaue-ohke* was transferred, as *Ashawog* or *Assawog*, to the Five-Mile River. *Natchaug* in the same county, the name of the eastern branch of Shetucket river, belonged originally to the tract 'between' the eastern and western branches; and the Shetucket itself borrows a name (*nashaue-tuk-ut*) from its place 'between' Yantic and Quinebaug rivers. A neck of land (now in Griswold, Conn.) "between Pachaug River and a brook that comes into it from the south," one of the Muhhekan east boundaries, was called sometimes, *Shawwunk*, 'at the place between,'—sometimes *Shawwânmug* (*nashaué-amaug*), 'the fishing-place between' the rivers, or the 'half-way fishing-place.'‡

* Vol. i. p. 246.

† See pp. 14, 15.

‡ Chandler's Survey and Map of the Mohegan country, 1705. Compare the Chip. *ashawiwi-sitagon*, "a place from which water runs two ways," a dividing ridge or portage *between* river courses. Owen's Geological Survey of Wisconsin, etc., p. 312.

5. ASHIM, is once used by Eliot (Cant. iv. 12) for 'fountain.' It denoted a *spring* or brook from which water was obtained for drinking. In the Abnaki, *asiem nebi*, 'il puise de l'eau ;' and *ned-a'sihibe*, 'je puise de l'eau, *fonti vel fluvio*.' (Rasles.)

Winne-ashim-ut, 'at the good spring,' near Romney Marsh, is now Chelsea, Mass. The name appears in deeds and records as Winnisimmet, Winisemit, Winnet Semet, etc. The author of the 'New English Canaan' informs us (book 2, ch. 8), that "At *Weenasemute* is a water, the virtue whereof is, "to cure barrenness. The place taketh his name of that "fountaine, which signifieth *quick spring*, or *quickning spring*. "Probatum."

Ashimuit or *Shumuit*, an Indian village near the line between Sandwich and Falmouth, Mass.,—*Shaume*, a neck and river in Sandwich (the *Chawum* of Capt. John Smith ?),—*Shimmoah*, an Indian village on Nantucket,—may all have derived their names from springs resorted to by the natives, as was suggested by the Rev. Samuel Deane in a paper in *Mass. Hist. Collections*, 2d Series, vol. x. pp. 173, 174.

6. MATTAPPAN, a participle of *mattappu* (Chip. *namátabi*), 'he sits down,' denotes a 'sitting-down place,' or, as generally employed in local names, *the end of a portage* between two rivers or from one arm of the sea to another,—where the canoe was launched again and its bearers re-embarked. Râle translates the Abnaki equivalent, *mataⁿbe*, by 'il va au bord de l'eau,—à la grève pour s'embarquer,' and *metaⁿbéniganik*, by 'au bout de delà du portage.'

Mattapan-ock, afterwards shortened to *Mattapan*, that part of Dorchester Neck (South Boston) where "the west country people were set down" in 1630,* may have been so called because it was the end of a carrying place from South Bay to Dorchester Bay, across the narrowest part of the peninsula, or—as seems highly probable—because it was the temporary

* Blake's Annals of Dorchester, p. 9 ; Winthrop's Journal, vol. i. p. 28.

‘sitting-down place’ of the new comers. Elsewhere, we find the name evidently associated with *portage*.

On Smith’s Map of Virginia, one ‘*Mattapanient*’ appears as the name of the northern fork (now the *Mattapony*) of Pamaunk (York) River; another (*Mattpanient*) near the head waters of the Pawtuxunt; and a third on the ‘Chickahamania’ not far above its confluence with Powhatan (James) River.

Mattapoiset, on an inlet of Buzzard’s Bay, in Rochester, Mass.,—another Mattapoiset or ‘Mattapuyest,’ now Gardner’s Neck, in Swanzea,—and ‘Mattapeaset’ or ‘Mattabesic,’ on the great bend of the Connecticut (now Middletown), derived their names from the same word, probably.

On a map of Lake Superior, made by Jesuit missionaries and published in Paris in 1672, the stream which is marked on modern maps as ‘Rivière aux Traines’ or ‘Train River,’ is named ‘R. *Mataban*.’ The small lake from which it flows is the ‘end of portage’ between the waters of Lake Michigan and those of Lake Superior.

7. CHABENUK, ‘a bound mark;’ literally, ‘that which separates or divides.’ A hill in Griswold, Conn., which was anciently one of the Muhhekan east bound-marks, was called *Chabinuk*, ‘Atchaubennuck,’ and ‘Chabunnuck.’ The village of praying Indians in Dudley (now Webster?) Mass., was named *Chabanakongkomuk* (Eliot, 1668,) or *-ongkomum*, and the Great Pond still retains, it is said, the name of Chau-benagungamaug (*chabenukong-amaug?*), “the boundary fishing-place.” This pond was a bound mark between the Nipmucks and the Muhhekans, and was resorted to by Indians of both nations.

III. Participials and verbals employed as place-names may generally, as was before remarked, be referred to one or the other of the two preceding classes. The distinction between noun and verb is less clearly marked in Indian grammar than in English. The name *Mushauwomuk* (corrupted to *Shaw-*

mut) may be regarded as a participle from the verb *mush-auom* (Narr. *mishoonhom*) 'he goes by boat,'—or as a noun, meaning 'a ferry,'—or as a name of the first class, compounded of the adjectival *musho-n*, 'boat or canoe,' and *womow-uk*, habitual or customary *going*, i.e., 'where there is going-by-boat.'

The analysis of names of this class is not easy. In most cases, its results must be regarded as merely provisional. Without some clue supplied by history or tradition and without accurate knowledge of the locality to which the name belongs, or *is supposed* to belong, one can never be certain of having found the right key to the synthesis, however well it may seem to fit the lock. Experience Mayhew writing from Chilmark on Martha's Vineyard, in 1722, gives the Indian name of the place where he was living as *Nimpanickhickanuh*. If he had not added the information that the name "signifies in English, *The place of thunder clefts*," and that it was so called "because there was once a tree there split in pieces by the thunder," it is not likely that any one in this generation would have discovered its precise meaning,—though it might have been conjectured that *neimpau*, or *nimbau*, 'thunder,' made a part of it.

Quilútámende was (Heckewelder tells us*) the Delaware name of a place on the Susquehanna, in Pennsylvania, where, as the Indians say, "in their wars with the Five Nations, they fell by surprise upon their enemies. The word or name of this place is therefore, *Where we came unawares upon them*, &c." Without the tradition, the meaning of the name would not have been guessed,—or, if guessed, would not have been confidently accepted.

The difficulty of analyzing such names is greatly increased by the fact that they come to us in corrupt forms. The same name may be found, in early records, written in a dozen different ways, and some three or four of these may admit of as many different translations. Indian grammatical

* On Indian Names, in *Trans. Am. Philos. Society*, N. S. iv. 361.

synthesis was *exact*. Every consonant and every vowel had its office and its place. Not one could be dropped or transposed, nor could one be added, without *change of meaning*. Now most of the Indian local names were first written by men who cared nothing for their meaning and knew nothing of the languages to which they belonged. Of the few who had learned to speak one or more of these languages, no two adopted the same way of writing them, and no one—John Eliot excepted—appears to have been at all careful to write the same word twice alike. In the seventeenth century men took considerable liberties with the spelling of their own surnames and very large liberty with English polysyllables—especially with local names. Scribes who contrived to find five or six ways of writing ‘Hartford’ or ‘Wethersfield,’ were not likely to preserve uniformity in their dealings with Indian names. A few letters more or less were of no great consequence, but, generally, the writers tried to keep on the safe side, by putting in as many as they could find room for; prefixing a *c* to every *k*, doubling every *w* and *g*, and tacking on a superfluous final *e*, for good measure.

In some instances, what is supposed to be an Indian place-name is in fact a *personal* name, borrowed from some sachem or chief who lived on or claimed to own the territory. Names of this class are likely to give trouble to translators. I was puzzled for a long time by ‘*Mianus*,’ the name of a stream between Stamford and Greenwich,—till I remembered that *Mayano*, an Indian warrior (who was killed by Capt. Patrick in 1643) had lived hereabouts; and on searching the Greenwich records, I found the stream was first mentioned as *Moyannoes* and *Mehanno’s* creek, and that it bounded ‘Moyannoe’s neck’ of land. *Moosup* river, which flows westerly through Plainfield into the Quinebaug and which has given names to a post-office and factory village, was formerly *Moosup’s* river,—*Moosup* or *Maussup* being one of the aliases of a Narragansett sachem who is better known, in the history of Philip’s war, as Pessacus. Heckewelder* restores ‘Pyma-

* On Indian Names (*ut supra*) p. 365.

tuning,' the name of a place in Pennsylvania, to the Del. '*Pihmtónink*,' meaning, "the dwelling place of the man with the crooked mouth, or the crooked man's dwelling place," and adds, that he "knew the man perfectly well," who gave this name to the locality.

Some of the examples which have been given,—such as *Higganum*, *Nunkertunk*, *Shawmut*, *Swamscot* and *Titicut*,—show how the difficulties of analysis have been increased by phonetic corruption, sometimes to such a degree as hardly to leave a trace of the original. Another and not less striking example is presented by *Snipsic*, the modern name of a pond between Ellington and Tolland. If we had not access to Chandler's Survey of the Mohegan Country, made in 1705, who would suppose that '*Snipsic*' was the surviving representative of *Moshenupsuck*, 'great-pond brook' or (literally) 'great-pond outlet,' at the south end of *Moshenups* or *Mashenips* 'great pond?' The territories of three nations, the Muhhekans, Nipmucks and River Indians, ran together at this point.

'*Nameroake*,' '*Namareck*' or '*Namelake*,' in East Windsor, was transformed to *May-luck*, giving to a brook a name which 'tradition' derives from the 'luck' of a party of emigrants who came in 'May' to the Connecticut.* The original name appears to have been the equivalent of 'Nameaug' or 'Nameoke' (New London), and to mean 'the fishing place,—*n'amaug* or *nama-ohke*.

But none of these names exhibits a more curious transformation than that of '*Bagadoose*' or '*Bigaduce*,' a peninsula on the east side of Penobscot Bay, now Castine, Me. William-son's History of Maine (ii. 572) states on the authority of Col. J. Wardwell of Penobscot, in 1820, that this point bore the name of a former resident, a Frenchman, one 'Major Biguyduce.' Afterwards, the historian was informed that '*Marche bagyduce*' was an Indian word meaning 'no good

* Stiles's History of Ancient Windsor, p. 111.

cove.' Mr. Joseph Williamson, in a paper in the Maine Historical Society's Collections (vol. vi. p. 107) identifies this name with the *Matchebiguatus* of Edward Winslow's quitclaim to Massachusetts in 1644,* and correctly translates the prefix *matche* by 'bad,' but adds: "What *Biguatus* means, I do not know." Purchas mentions '*Chebegnadose*,' as an Indian town on the 'Apananawapeske' or Penobscot.† Râle gives, as the name of the place on "the river where M. de Gastin [Castine] is," *Matsibigwadossek*, and on his authority we may accept this form as nearly representing the original. The analysis now becomes more easy. *Matsi-aⁿbagawat-ek*, means 'at the bad-shelter place,—bad *covert* or cove;' and *matsi-aⁿbagawatos-ek* is the diminutive, 'at the small bad-shelter place.' About two miles and a half above the mouth of the Kenebec was a place called by the Indians '*Abagadusset*' or '*Abequaduset*'—the same name without the prefix—meaning 'at the cove, or place of shelter.'

The adjectivals employed in the composition of Algonkin names are very numerous, and hardly admit of classification. Noun, adjective, adverb or even an active verb may, with slight change of form, serve as a prefix. But, as was before remarked, every prefix, strictly considered, is an adverb or must be construed as an adverb,—the synthesis which serves as a name having generally the verb form. Some of the most common of these prefixes have been mentioned on preceding pages. A few others, whose meanings are less obvious and have been sometimes mistaken by translators, may deserve more particular notice.

1. POHQUI, POHQUAE'; Narr. *pâuqui*; Abn. *pw'kwié*; 'open,' 'clear' (primarily, 'broken'). In composition with *ohke*, 'land,' or formed as a verbal in *-aug*, it denotes 'cleared land' or 'an open place:' as in the names variously written '*Pahquioque*,' '*Paquiaug*;' '*Pyquaag*;' '*Poquaig*,' '*Payquaoge*,' &c., in Danbury and Wethersfield, and in Athol, Mass.

* Printed in note to Savage's Winthrop's Journal, ii. 180.

† See Thornton's Ancient Pemaquid, in Maine Hist. Collections, v. 156.

2. PAHKE (Abn. *paⁿgwi*;) 'clear,' 'pure'. Found with *paug*, 'standing water' or 'pond,' in such names as 'Paheupog,' 'Paquabaug,' &c. See page 16.

3. PÂGUAN-AÛ, 'he destroys,' 'he slaughters' (Narr. *paú-quana*, 'there is a slaughter') in composition with *ohke* denotes 'place of slaughter' or 'of destruction,' and commemorates some sanguinary victory or disastrous defeat. This is *probably* the meaning of nearly all the names written 'Poquannoc,' 'Pequannoc,' 'Pauganuek,' &c., of places in Bridgeport (Stratfield), Windsor and Groton, Conn., and of a town in New Jersey. Some of these, however, may possibly be derived from *paukunni* and *ohke*, 'dark place.'

4. PEMI (Abn. *pemai-wi*; Del. *pimé-u*; Cree, *peemé*;) denotes deviation from a straight line; 'sloping,' 'aslant,' 'twisted.' PUMMEECHE (Cree, *pimich*; Chip. *pemiji*; Abn. *pemetsi*;) 'crosswise; traverse.' Eliot wrote '*pummeeche may*' for 'cross-way,' Obad. 14; and *pumetshin* (literally, 'it crosses') for 'a cross,' as in *up-pumetshin-eum*, 'his cross,' Luke xiv. 27. *Pemiji-gome* or *Pemiji-guma*, 'cross water,' is the Chippewa name for a lake whose longest diameter crosses the general course of the river which flows through it,—which stretches *across*, not *with* the stream. There is such a lake in Minnesota, near the sources of the Mississippi, just below the junction of the two primary forks of that river; another ('*Pemijigome*') in the chain of small lakes which are the northern sources of the Manidowish (and Chippewa) River in Wisconsin, and still another near the Lacs des Flambeaux, the source of Flambeau River, an affluent of the Manidowish.

The same prefix or its equivalent occurs in the name of a lake in Maine, near the source of the Alligash branch of St. John's River. Mr. Greenleaf, in a list of Indian names made in 1823,* gave this as 'BAAM'CHENUN'gamo or AHP'MOO-JEE'negmook.'" Thoreau† was informed by his Penobscot

* Report of American Society for Promoting Civilization of the Indian Tribes, p. 52.

† Maine Woods, 232.

guide, that the name "means 'Lake that is crossed;' because the usual course lies across, not along it." There is another "Cross Lake," in Aroostook county, near the head of Fish River. We seem to recognize, and with less difficulty, the same prefix in *Pemigewasset*, but the full composition of that name is not clear.

PEMI- denotes, not a *crossing of* but *deviation from* a straight line, whether vertical or horizontal. In place-names it may generally be translated by 'sloping' or 'aslant;' sometimes by 'awry' or 'tortuous.' *Pemadené*, which Râle gives as the Abnaki word for 'mountain,' denotes a *sloping* mountain-side (*pemi-adené*), in distinction from one that is steep or precipitous. '*Pemetiq*,' the Indian name of Mount Desert Island, as written by Father Biard in 1611, is the Abnaki *pemételki*, 'sloping land.' *Pemaquid* appears to be another form of the word which Râle wrote '*Pemaaⁿkke*,' meaning (with the locative suffix) 'at the place where the land slopes;' where "le terre penche; est en talus."[‡] *Pymatuning*, in Pennsylvania, is explained by Heckewelder, as "the dwelling place of the man with the crooked mouth; *Pihmtónink*" (from *pimeu* and *'ton*).

WANASHQUE, ANASQUI, 'at the extremity of,' 'at the end;' Abn. *wanaskwoiwi*, 'au bout;' Cree, *wánnuskwoitch*; Chip. *ishkuè*, *eshqua*. See (pp. 18, 19,) *Wanashqu-ompsk-ut*, *Wonesquam*,[‡] *Winnesquamsaukit*, *Squamscot*. *Wonasquatucket*, a small river which divides North Providence and Johnston, R.I., retains the name which belonged to the point at which it enters an arm of Narragansett Bay (or Providence River), 'at the end of the tidal-river.' A stream in Rochester, Mass., which empties into the head of an inlet from Buzzard's Bay, received the same name. *Ishquagoma*, on the upper Embarras

* Abnaki Dictionary, s. v. PENCHER. Compare, p. 545, "*bimkwé*, il penche naturellement la tête sur un côté."

† *Wonesquam* (as should have been mentioned on the page referred to) may possibly represent the Abnaki *wanaskwaⁿamíwi* or *-mek*, 'at the end of the peninsula' ('au bout de la presqu'île.' Râle).

River, Minnesota, is the 'end lake,' the extreme point to which canoes go up that stream.

Names of *fishes* supply the adjectival components of many place-names on the sea-coast of New England, on the lakes, and along river-courses. The difficulty of analyzing such names is the greater because the same species of fish was known by different names to different tribes. The more common substantivals are *-amaug*, 'fishing place ; *-tuk* or *sipu*, 'river ;' *ohke*, 'place ;' Abn. *-kaⁿtti*, 'place of abundance ;' and *-keag*, *-keke*, Abn. *-khigé*, which appears to denote a peculiar *mode of fishing*,—perhaps, by a *weir* ;* possibly, a *spearing-place*.

From the generic *namaus* (*namohs*, El. ; Abn. *namés* ; Del. *namees* ;) 'a fish'—but probably, one of the *smaller* sort, for the form is a diminutive,—come such names as *Nameoke* or *Nameaug* (New London), for *namau-ohke*, 'fish country ;' *Namasket* or *Namasseket* (on Taunton River, in Middleborough, Mass.) 'at the fish place,' a favorite resort of the Indians of that region ; *Namaskeak*, now Amoskeag, on the Merrimack, and *Nam'skeket* or *Skeeket*, in Wellfleet, Mass.

M'squammaug (Abn. *meskwamékw*), 'red fish,' i.e. salmon, gave names to several localities. *Misquamacuck* or *Squamicut*, now Westerly, R.I., was 'a salmon place' of the Narragansetts. The initial *m* often disappears ; and sometimes, so much of the rest of the name goes with it, that we can only guess at the original synthesis. 'Gonic,' a post office and railroad station, near Dover, N.H., on the Cocheco river, was once '*Squammagonic*,'—and probably, a salmon-fishing place.

Kaúposh (Abn. *kabassé*, plu. *kabassak*), 'sturgeon,' is a component of the name *Cobbosseecontee*, in Maine (page 26, ante), 'where sturgeons are plenty ;' and *Cobscook*, an arm of Passamaquoddy Bay, Pembroke, Me., perhaps stands for *kabassakhigé*, 'sturgeon-catching place.'

* Schoolcraft derives the name of the *Namakagun* fork of the St. Croix river, Wisc., from Chip. "*namai*, sturgeon, and *kagun*, a yoke or weir."

Aumsuog or *Ommissuog* (Abn. *a^mswak*), ‘small fish,’—especially alewives and herrings,—is a component of the name of the Abnaki village on the Kennebec, *A^mmeswak-kaⁿtti*; of *Mattammiscontis*, a tributary of the Kennebec (see p. 25, ante), and probably, of *Amoscoggin* and *Amoskeag*.

Qunnôsu (pl. *-suog*; Abn. *konnôsé*; Old Alg. *kinoⁿjé*; Chip. *keno^zha*;) is found in the name of *Kenosha*, a town and county in Wisconsin; perhaps, in *Kenjua* or *Kenzua* creek and township, in Warren county, Pa. *Quinshepaug* or *Quonshapauge*, in Mendon, Mass., seems to denote a ‘pickerel pond’ (*qunnosu-paug*). *Maskinongé*, i.e. *massa-kinoⁿjé*, ‘great pike’ or maskelunge, names a river and lake in Canada.

Pescatum, said to mean ‘pollock,’ occurs as an adjectival in *Peskadamioukkaⁿtti*, the modern *Passamaquoddy* (p. 26).

Naha^mow, the Abnaki name of the ‘eel,’ is found in “*Nehumkeag*, the English of which is *Eel Land*, . . . a stream or brook that empties itself into Kennebec River,” not far from Cobbisseecontee.* This brook was sometimes called by the English, *Nehumkee*. The Indian name of Salem, Mass., was *Nehumkeke* or *Naümkeag*, and a place on the Merrimac, near the mouth of Concord River (now in Lowell, I believe,) had the same name,—written, *Naamkeak*.

In view of the illustrations which have been given, we repeat what was stated in the beginning of this paper, that Indian place-names are not *proper names*, that is unmeaning marks, but significant *appellatives*, each conveying a *description* of the locality to which it belongs. In those parts of the country where Indian languages are still spoken, the analysis of such names is comparatively easy. Chippewa, Cree, or (in another family) Sioux-Dakota geographical names may generally be translated with as little difficulty as other words or syntheses in the same languages. In New England, and especially in our part of New England, the case is different.

* Col. William Lithgow’s deposition, 1767,—in *New England Historical and General Register*, xxiv. 24.

We can hardly expect to ascertain the meaning of all the names which have come down to us from dead languages of aboriginal tribes. Some of the obstacles to accurate analysis have been pointed out. Nearly every geographical name has been mutilated or has suffered change. It would indeed be strange if Indian polysyntheses, with their frequent gutturals and nasals, adopted from unwritten languages and by those who were ignorant of their meanings, had been exempted from the phonetic change to which all language is subject, as a result of the universal disposition "to put more facile in the stead of more difficult sounds or combination of sounds, and to get rid altogether of what is unnecessary in the words we use."* What Professor Haldeman calls *otosis*, 'that error of the ear by which words are perverted to a more familiar form,'† has effected some curious transformations. *Swatara*,‡ the name of a stream in Pennsylvania, becomes 'Sweet Arrow;' the *Potopaco* of John Smith's map (*pōtuppāg*, a bay or cove; Eliot,) on a bend of the Potomac, is naturalized as 'Port Tobacco.' *Nama'auke*, 'the place of fish' in East Windsor, passes through *Namerack* and *Namalake* to the modern 'May Luck.' *Moskitu-auke*, 'grass land,' in Scituate, R.I., gives the name of 'Mosquito Hawk' to the brook which crosses it.§

* Whitney's *Language and the Study of Language*, p. 69.—"Ein natürliches Volksgefühl, oft auch der Volkswitz, den nicht mehr verstandenen Namen neu umprägte und mit anderen lebenden Wörtern in Verbindung setzte." Dr. J. Bender, *Die deutschen Ortsnamen* (2te Ausg.) p. 2.

† Haldeman's *Analytic Orthography*, §279, and "Etymology as a means of Education," in *Pennsylvania School Journal* for October, 1868.

‡ 'Swatawro,' on Sayer and Bennett's Map, 1775.

§ 'Whiskey Jack,' the name by which the Canada Jay (*Perisoreus Canadensis*) is best known to the lumbermen and hunters of Maine and Canada, is the Montagnais *Ouishcatcha* (Cree, *Ouiskeshauneesh*), which has passed perhaps through the transitional forms of 'Ouiske Jean' and 'Whiskey Johnny.' The Shagbark Hickory nuts, in the dialect of the Abnakis called *s'kōskada'mennar*, literally, 'nuts to be cracked with the teeth,' are the 'Kuskatominies' and 'Kisky Thomas' nuts of descendants of the Dutch colonists of New Jersey and New York. A contraction of the

In Connecticut and Rhode Island special causes operated to corrupt and transform almost beyond possibility of recognition, many of the Indian place names. Five different dialects at least were spoken between Narragansett Bay and the Housatonic River, at the time of the first coming of the English. In early deeds and conveyances in the colonial and in local records, we find the same river, lake, tract of land or bound-mark named sometimes in the Muhhekan, sometimes in the Narragansett, or Niantic, or Nipmuck, or Connecticut valley, or Quinnipiac (Quiripee) dialect. The adopted name is often *extra-limitary* to the tribe by which it was given. Often, it is a mixture of, or a sort of compromise between, two dialects; half Muhhekan, half Narragansett or Nipmuck. In the form in which it comes to us, we can only guess from what language or languages it has been corrupted.

The analysis of those names even whose composition appears to be most obvious must be accepted as *provisional* merely. The recovery of a lost syllable or of a lost guttural or nasal, the correction of a false accent even, may give to the synthesis another and hitherto unsuspected meaning. It would be surprising if some of the translations which have been hazarded in this paper do not prove to be wide of their

plural form of a Massachusetts noun-generie,—*asquash*, denoting ‘things which are eaten green, or without cooking,’ was adopted as the name of a garden vegetable,—with conscious reference, perhaps, to the old English word *squash*, meaning ‘something soft or immature.’ Sometimes etymology overreaches itself, by regarding an aboriginal name as the corrupt form of a foreign one. Thus the *maskalongé* or ‘great long-nose’ of the St. Lawrence (see p. 43) has been reputed of French extraction,—*masque elongé*: and *sagackomi*, the northern name of a plant used as a substitute for or to mix with tobacco,—especially, of the Bearberry, *Arctostaphylos uva-ursi*,—is resolved into *sac-à-commis*, “on account of the Hudson’s Bay officers carrying it in bags for smoking,” as Sir John Richardson believed (Arctic Searehing Expedition, ii. 303). It was left for the ingenuity of a Westminster Reviewer to discover that *barbecue* (denoting, in the language of the Indians of Guiana, a wooden frame or grille on which all kinds of flesh and fish were dry-roasted, or cured in smoke,) might be a corruption of the French *barbe à queue*, i.e. ‘from snout to tail;’ a suggestion which appears to have found favor with lexicographers.

mark. Even English etymology is not reckoned among the exact sciences yet,—and in Algonkin, there is the additional disadvantage of having no Sanskrit verbs “to go,” to fall back on as a last resort.

Recent manifestations of an increasing interest in Indian onomatology, or at least of awakened curiosity to discover the meanings of Indian names, may perhaps justify the writer in offering, at the close of this paper, a few suggestions, as to the method of analysis which appears most likely to give correct results, and as to the tests by which to judge of the *probability* that a supposed translation of any name is the true one.

1. The earliest recorded form of the name should be sought for, and every variation from it should be noted. These should be taken so far as possible from original manuscripts, not from printed copies.

2. Where the difference of forms is considerable, knowledge of the character and opportunities of the writer may sometimes determine the preference of one form to others, as probably the most accurate. A Massachusetts or Connecticut name written by John Eliot or Experience Mayhew—or by the famous interpreter, Thomas Stanton—may safely be assumed to represent the original combination of sounds more exactly than the form given it by some town-recorder, ignorant of the Indian language and who perhaps did not always write or spell his own correctly.

3. The name should be considered with some reference to the topographical features of the region to which it belongs. These may sometimes determine the true meaning when the analysis is doubtful, or may suggest the meaning which would otherwise have been unsuspected under the modern form.

4. Remembering that every letter or sound had its value, —if, in the analysis of a name, it becomes necessary to get rid of a troublesome consonant or vowel by assuming it to have been introduced ‘for the sake of euphony,’—it is probable that the interpretation so arrived at is *not* the right one.

5. The components of every place-name—or to speak more generally, the elements of every Indian synthesis are

significant roots, not mere *fractions of words* arbitrarily selected for new combinations. There has been no more prolific source of error in dealings with the etymology and the grammatical structure of the American languages than that one-sided view of the truth which was given by Duponceau* in the statement that “one or more syllables of each simple word are generally chosen and combined together, in one compound locution, often leaving out the harsh consonants for the sake of euphony,”—and repeated by Heckewelder,† when he wrote, that “in the Delaware and other American languages, parts or parcels of different words, sometimes a single sound or letter, are compounded together in an artificial manner so as to avoid the meeting of harsh or disagreeable sounds,” &c. The “single sound or letter” the “one or more syllables,” were chosen not as “part or parcel” of a word but because of their *inherent significance*. The Delaware “*Pilape*, a youth,” is *not*—as Heckewelder and Duponceau represented it to be‡—“formed from *pilsit*, chaste, innocent, and *lenape*, a man,” but from PIL- (Mass. *pen*-, Abn. *pir*-,) strange, novel, *unused* (and hence) pure,—and -A^{PE} (Mass. -*omp*, Abn. *aⁿbé*,) a male, *vir*. It is true that the same roots are found in the two words PIL-*sit* (a participle of the verb-adjective *pil-esu*, ‘he is pure,’) and *len*-A^{PE}, ‘common man:’ but the statement that “one or more syllables” are *taken from* these words to form *Pilape* is inaccurate and misleading. It might with as much truth be said that the English word *boyhood* is formed from selected syllables of boy-ish and man-hood; or that *purity* ‘compounds together in an artificial manner’ fractions of *purify* and *quality*.

Dr. Schoolcraft believed that “elementary syllables, *like chessmen on a board*, can be changed at the will of the player,

* Correspondence of Duponceau and Heckewelder, in Trans. Historical and Literary Committee of Am. Philos. Society, p. 403. † Ibid., p. 406.

‡ Preface to Duponceau’s translation of Zeisberger’s Grammar, p. 21. On Duponceau’s authority, Dr. Pickering accepted this analysis and gave it currency by repeating it, in his admirable paper on “Indian Languages,” in the Encyclopædia Americana, vol. vi.

to form new combinations to meet new contingencies, so long as they are changed in accordance with certain general principles and conventional rules; *in the application of which, however, much depends upon the will or the skill of the player.*”^{*} With such a view of the composition of Indian names, it is not surprising that he so often mistook their meaning and that his analysis is generally untrustworthy. He derives ‘Michigan’ from *MICHAN*, ‘great,’ and *saugiegAN*, ‘lake;’ the name of ‘Misakoda’ river, from *MISK*, ‘red,’ *musCODA*, ‘a plain,’ and *Auk*, ‘a dead standing tree;’ and supposed that the name ‘Illigan,’ which he invented for a lake on the Crow-Wing River, was properly compounded of “*ininéeg*, men and *saugiëgan*, lake.”

We meet with similar analyses in almost every published list of Indian names. Some examples have been given in the preceding pages of this paper,—as in the interpretation of ‘Winnipisiogee (p. 32) by ‘the beautiful water of the high place,’ *s* or *ēs* being regarded as the fractional representative of ‘*kees*, high.’ *Pemigewasset* has been translated by ‘crooked place of pines’ and ‘crooked mountain pine place,’—as if *kw-a*, ‘a pine,’ or its plural *kw-ash*, could dispense in composition with its significant base, *kw*, and appear by a grammatical formative only.

6. No interpretation of a place-name is correct which makes *bad grammar* of the original. The apparatus of Indian synthesis was cumbersome and perhaps inelegant, but it was nicely adjusted to its work. The grammatical relations of words were never lost sight of. The several components of a name had their established order, not dependent upon the will

* “Observations on the Odjibwa Substantive,”—several times reprinted by Dr. Schoolcraft, and translated by Mr. Duponceau for his “*Mémoire sur le Système grammatical des Langues de quelques nations Indiennes*,” &c. “*Comment se fait-il*”—asks the author of “*Études Philologiques sur quelques Langues sauvages de l’Amérique*” (Montreal, 1866),—“*Comment se fait-il* que M. Schoolcraft ait pu avancer innocemment une énormité du genre de celle-ci? Qu’il nous cite au moins un exemple d’un si étrange phénomène.” (p. 23.)

or skill of the composer. When we read modern advertisements of "cheap gentlemen's traveling bags" or "steel-faced carpenters' claw hammers," we may construe such phrases with a latitude which was not permitted to the Algonkins. If 'Connecticut' means—as some have supposed it to mean—"long deer place," it denotes a place where *long deer* abounded; if 'Piscataqua' was named 'great deer river,' it was because the deer found *in* that river were of remarkable size. "Coaquanock" or, as Heckewelder wrote it, 'Cuwequanaku,' the site of Philadelphia, may mean 'pine long-place' but cannot mean 'long pine-place' or 'grove of long pine trees.' If 'Pemigewasset' is compounded of words signifying 'crooked,' 'pines,' and 'place,' it denotes 'a place of crooked pines,'—not 'crooked place of pines.'

Again—every Indian name is *complete within itself*. A mere adjectival or qualificative cannot serve independently, leaving the real ground-word to be supplied by the hearer. River names must contain some element which denotes 'river;' names of lakes or ponds something which stands for 'lake' or 'pond.' The Indians had not our fashion of speech which permits Hudson's River to be called 'the Hudson,' drops the word 'lake' from 'Champlain' or 'Erie,' and makes "the Alleghanies" a geographical name. This difference must not be lost sight of, in analysis or translation. *Agawam* or *Auguan* (a name given to several localities in New England where there are low flat meadows or marshes,) cannot be the equivalent of the Abnaki *agwaⁿna*, which means 'a smoke-dried fish,'*—though *agwaⁿna-ki* or something like it (if such a name should be found), might mean 'smoked-fish place.' *Chickahominy* does not stand for 'great corn,' nor *Pawcatuck* for 'much or many deer';† because neither 'corn' nor 'deer' designates *place* or implies fixed location, and

* It was so interpreted in the *Historical Magazine* for May, 1865 (p. 90).

† Ibid. To this interpretation of *Pawcatuck* there is the more obvious objection that a prefix signifying 'much or many' should be followed not by *ahtuk* or *attuk*, 'a deer,' but by the plural *ahtukquog*.

therefore neither can be made the ground-word of a place-name. *Androscoggin* or *Amoscoggin* is not from the Abnaki 'amaskohegan, fish-spearing,'* for a similar reason (and moreover, because the termination *-hēgan* denotes always an *instrument*, never an *action* or a *place*; it may belong to 'a fish-spear,' but not to 'fish spearing' nor to the locality 'where fish are speared.')

7. The locative post-position, *-et*, *-it* or *-ut*,† means *in*, *at* or *on*,—not 'land' or 'place.' It locates, not the object to the name of which it is affixed, but *something else* as related to that object,—which must be of such a nature that location can be predicated of it. *Animate nouns*, that is, names of animate objects cannot receive this affix. 'At the rock' (*ompsk-ut*), 'at the mountain' (*wadchu-ut*), or 'in the country' (*ohk-it*, *auk-it*), is intelligible, in Indian or English; 'at the deer,' 'at the bear,' or 'at the sturgeons,' would be nonsense in any language. When animate nouns occur in place-names, they receive the formative of verbals, or serve as adjectival prefixes to some localizing ground-word or noun-generic.

8. Finally,—in the analysis of geographical names, differences of *language* and *dialect* must not be disregarded. In determining the primary meaning of roots, great assistance may be had by the comparison of derivatives in nearly related languages of the same stock. But in American languages, the diversity of dialects is even more remarkable than the identity and constancy of roots. Every tribe, almost every village had its peculiarities of speech. Names etymologically identical might have widely different meanings in two languages, or even in two nations speaking substantially the same language. The eastern Algonkin generic name for 'fish' (*nāma-us*, Del. *namai-s*) is restricted by northern and

* Etymological Vocabulary of Geographical Names, appended to the last edition of Webster's Dictionary (1864). It may be proper to remark in this connection, that the writer's responsibility for the correctness of translations given in that vocabulary does not extend beyond his own contributions to it.

† Abnaki and Cree, *-k* or *-g*,—Delaware and Chippewa, *-ng* or *-g*,—with a connecting vowel.

western tribes to a single species, the sturgeon (Chip. *na-mai'*), as *the* fish, par excellence. *Attuk*, in Massachusetts was the common fallow-deer,—in Canada and the north-west the caribou or reindeer. The Abnaki Indian called his *dog* (*atié*) by a name which the Chippewa gives his *horse* (*oti-un* ; *n'di*, my horse).* The most common noun-generic of river names in New-England (*-tuk*, 'tidal river') occurs rarely in those of Pennsylvania and Virginia, where it is replaced by *-hanne* ('rapid stream'), and is unknown to western Algonkin tribes whose streams are undisturbed by tides. The analysis of a geographical name must be sought in the language spoken by the name-givers. The correct translation of a Connecticut or Narragansett name is not likely to be attained by searching for its several components in a Chippewa vocabulary ; or of the name of a locality near Hudson's River, by deriving its prefix from an Abnaki adverb and its ground-word from a Chippewa participle,—as was actually done in a recently published list of Indian names.

* Both words have the same meaning,—that of 'a domestic animal,' or literally, 'animate property,' 'he who *belongs* to me.'

ON SOME
MISTAKEN NOTIONS OF ALGONKIN GRAMMAR,
AND ON MISTRANSLATIONS OF WORDS FROM ELIOT'S BIBLE, &c.

By J. HAMMOND TRUMBULL.

John Eliot's version of the Bible in the language of the Indians of Massachusetts has been characterized as "a rich mine of Indian philology," from which "a complete grammar and valuable dictionary might, with labor and perseverance, be extracted."* Scholars like Pickering and Gallatin have now and then really worked a vein or two of this mine, with moderate success; but for every such one there have been fifty who were content to glean a few surface-specimens and spare themselves all trouble of assay or analysis. The richness of the mine considered, it is surprising that so much worthless ore has been brought out of it and that so much which was intrinsically good has been made worthless in the smelting process to which it was subjected to prepare it for filling the molds of comparative vocabularies, for bracing up an unsound hypothesis, or for pinning together some linguistic structure which was not quite strong enough to stand alone. If an Algonkin place-name is to be mis-interpreted, the mis-interpretation is usually made on the supposed authority of Eliot. When his version is referred to for the purpose

* Duponceau's Notes to Eliot's "Indian Grammar Begun," in Massachusetts Hist. Collections, 2d Ser., vol ix. p. ix.

of finding an Algonkin word corresponding to one in the English text, the chances are that an affix or formative is mistaken for the root.

There are few writers on American languages who have not somewhere been led into error by relying on statements made on the alleged authority of Eliot's Bible or of Zeisberger's Grammar of the Lenni Lenápe (Delaware) language. It is not surprising that distinguished European philologists, who could consult these authorities only at second-hand, have been thus misled. They are excusable for adopting and giving currency to the false notions of Indian synthesis, the worthless etymologies, and the mis-translations, which had received the endorsement of American scholars of high repute and passed unquestioned from this side of the Atlantic.

I propose in the present paper to call attention to a few of these errors, and to show that some of the best accredited dicta concerning the Algonkin languages rest on very slight foundations—or have no foundation whatever. They may be divided in two classes,—as they belong to the *grammar*, or to the *vocabulary*. Of the former, I mention first,—

The alleged existence of a *definite article*, in certain Algonkin languages, especially in the Massachusetts and the Lenni Lenápe.

Mr. Duponceau was the first to announce the discovery, in the Natick (Massachusetts) dialect, of “a part of speech which had not been noticed by grammarians in the Indian languages”. In a note appended to Pickering's edition of Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun (1821), he wrote as follows:—

“It is remarkable, that this language appears to possess a definite article, although no mention is made of it in this Grammar. This article is *mo*, contracted from *monko*, and properly signifies *it*. . . . This pronoun when used as an article is still further contracted into *m*, which, when followed by a consonant, Eliot connects with it by the English short *u*, according to his method, and sometimes by short *e*. Thus he writes *metah*, “the heart,” which should be pronounced *m'tah*. It is evident, that the *m* stands here for an *article*, because the personal affixes ‘my’, ‘thy’, ‘his’, are *n*, *k*, and *w*; *nuttah* or *n'tah*, ‘my heart’, *kuttah* or *k'tah*, ‘thy heart’, *wuttah* or *w'tah*, ‘his or her heart’. . . . In the translation of the Bible,

this article frequently appears: *Kesteah pahke* METAH "Create in me a clean heart". Ps. li. 10. — *Pohqui kah tannogki* METAH "A broken and contrite heart." Ibid. 17. Several words are also found in his [Eliot's] Grammar, in which this article is prefixed, though not noticed as such. . . . This article exists in several of the Indian languages," &c. (pp. xiv. xv.)

To this note was appended the copy of a letter received from Mr. Heckewelder, assuring Mr. Duponceau that "the article '*mo*' for '*a*' or '*the*', which he had discovered in the language of the Naticks *is the same* in the language of the Lenape."

In the translation of Zeisberger's Delaware Grammar, published in 1826, the statement that "there is an article in the Delaware language" is repeated; and reference is made (p. 36,) to the translator's discovery of this article "in the Massachusetts language."

Again, in the well known *Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical des Langues de quelques Nations Indiennes* (Paris, 1838), Mr. Duponceau asserts that "les langues Algonquines ont l'article. . . . Les grammairiens Eliot et Zeisberger ne l'ont pas même aperçu, c'est pourquoi ils n'en ont pas parlé"; but, "des Indianologues plus récents ont enfin découvert son existence", etc. (p. 148).

In Mr. Gallatin's "Synopsis of the Indian Tribes" (1836), Mr. Duponceau is credited with "the discovery of an article *mo*; as *m'hittuk* 'a tree' or 'the tree'," (p. 220) and allusion is made (p. 163) to "the initial *m* often prefixed to the noun in the Knisteneaux and the Chippeway" languages, as "seeming to corroborate the existence of a definite article *mo*, discovered by Mr. Duponceau in Eliot's translation of the Bible."

And so the definite article, — unknown to Eliot and Zeisberger, disbelieved in by "M. Heckewelder lui-même . . . jusqu'à ce qu'il fût convaincu du contraire par les recherches des philologues", — took its established place among the parts of Algonkin speech.

Yet it may easily be shown that the *m*' prefixed to certain classes of Algonkin nouns is *not* a definite article, — that it does *not* stand for *mo*, — that *mo* is *not* a contraction of *monko*, — and that *monko* does *not* signify 'it', in Eliot's Bible or elsewhere.

Mô or *mo* is put by Eliot (Ind. Grammar, 21) among “adverbs of denying”, “sometimes signifying *not*”. Thus he writes *mo teag* and *moⁿteag* ‘nothing’ (Isaiah xl. 17; xli. 17): *mo teag ohtóöu* ‘he hath nothing’ (Prov. xiii. 4), and *mo teaguas ohtóöu* (Prov. xx. 4). But he more frequently uses this particle as the *sign of the preterit*, to denote completed and terminated action or being, — that which *was* and *is not*, — or as a substitute for the past tense of the substantive verb. It has this meaning in the verses cited from Eliot’s version by Mr. Duponceau, and in many others. ‘*Nnih* or *unnih* means ‘it is so’, and *mo nnih* (Genesis i. 15) ‘it *was* so’; *wunnegen* ‘it is good’ (Ps. lii. 9), and *mo ahche wunnegen* ‘it *was* very good’ (Gen. i. 31); *na mow pharisaë wosketomp* ‘there *was* a Pharisee man’ (John iii. 1), and *matta mo wosketomp* ‘there *was* not a man’, literally, ‘not was man’ (Gen. ii. 5); *wequai* [there is] ‘light’, and *mô wequai* ‘there *was* light’ (Gen. i. 3), *ne mo wequai* ‘that *was* [the] light’ (John i. 9); *ken mo wut-tinneumün* ‘thou *wast* a servant’ (Dent. v. 17); *na mo kesukod* ‘there *was* a day’ (Matt. viii. 26). In a very few instances — nearly all of which occur in the first chapter of Genesis, at the beginning of Eliot’s work of translation — he employed the questionable synthesis *mónkô nnih* for ‘it was so’ (vv. 7, 9, 11, 24, 30): *mónkô* having been formed, apparently, from *mô* and *kô*, to signify ‘was and continues to be’.*

Mr. Duponceau having mistaken the sign of the past tense for a *pronoun* transformed the supposed pronoun into a *definite article*. But the office of the prefixed *m’* (as in Mass. *m’tah* ‘heart’) was just the reverse of that of a definite article. Primarily a negative or a privative — always indefinite — it was used not with all nouns but with a few only, — with the names of the body and its members, of articles belonging to or generally associated with the person, of terms expressing rela-

* The particle *kô* or *koh* denotes continuance or progression. As an auxiliary, it refers to a past time action or being not yet completed or terminated, — when what *now is* ‘began to be’ or ‘once was’ — or affirms *present* as related to *prior* action or being. Eliot occasionally employs it for the verb substantive, as in Job xiv. 10, *kah uttoh kô wutapin?* ‘and where *is* he’; *noh koh mô, noh koh, kah noh paont* ‘who *was*, and *is*, and *is* to come’ (Rev. iv. 8); and *ken nukoh* [= *noh koh*], *kah ken nukoh mô, kah ken paóan*, ‘thou who *wast*, and *art*, and *art* to come’ (Rev. xi. 17).

tionship, and some others: and it served to divest these of all personal and individual relation or appropriation. For example, when an Indian spoke of 'body' or 'person' he usually employed a possessive pronominal prefix,—*'my body', 'thy body', 'his body'* (Mass. *n'hog, k'hog, w'hog*): but if he found it necessary to speak of 'body' or 'heart' in the abstract, or divested of its natural associations, he substituted for the possessive and personal the *negative* and *impersonal* prefix, *m'*. *M'hog* (*mūhhog*, Eliot,) denotes 'body *not* mine, yours or his'—*some* body, regarded as without appropriation or personal relation: *m'tay* (*mětah*, El., *mtee*, Zeisberger,) 'heart', *not* my heart (*n'tay*), nor yours (*k'tay*), &c.*

Another modern discovery in Algonkin grammar was that of a *vocative case* of nouns. Eliot had stated (in his *Indian Grammar Begun*, p. 8) that nouns in the Massachusetts language are "not varied by cases, cadencies and endings,"—except that "there seemeth to be one cadency or case" of *animate* nouns, corresponding to the Latin accusative. But Zeisberger found terminations in the Delaware which "express the vocative". He gave several examples of these in his *Grammar of that language* (p. 37), and Mr. Duponceau, in his *Notes to Eliot's Grammar* (p. xiv), pointed out "different terminations of the same word, in various parts of Eliot's translation of the Bible",—of which "the termination *in* in the vocative singular and *unk* in the vocative plural" could not, he thought, be accounted for consistently with Eliot's "positive statement that substantives are not distinguished by cases." He cited Zeisberger's authority for the fact that "the Delaware has a vocative case, which generally ends in *an*." Mr. Gallatin (*Synopsis*, p. 173) repeats: "There is a vocative case in some at least of the Algonkin-Lenape languages, terminating, in the singular of the Delaware, in *an*, and of the

*Howse (*Cree Grammar*, p. 245) has pointed out the mistake of "some writers who have considered the element of *me-* (and *w-* or *we-*) prefixed to certain nouns, as equivalent to the European Article." This element, he says, is found in the Cree "only in the names of the body and its parts, . . . in those expressing relationship, as *ne-gáuwee* 'my mother', *me-gáuwee* 'a mother' &c.,—with a very few others."

Massachusetts in *in*; in the plural Delaware, in *enk*, "when coupled with the pronoun *our*." (Zeisberger, p. 99.) The same termination *eunk* is used generally for the second person plural in the Massachusetts." Dr. Pickering in his paper on "Indian Languages," in the *Encyclopædia Americana*, adopted Zeisberger's statement that "in the Delaware, in two cases, the vocative and ablative, there is an inflection," — the former being "expressed by the termination *an*", &c. On so excellent authority the Delaware vocative in *an* and the Massachusetts vocative in *in* and *eunk* have been received, without question, into the Algonkin grammatical system.

Without affirming or denying the existence of a vocative form in some Algonkin languages, but considering only the evidence on which it has been engrafted on the dialects of Massachusetts and Delaware, — I assert that Eliot's Bible will be searched in vain for a vocative singular in *in* or for a "termination *eunk* used generally for the second plural plural", and that among the examples given by Zeisberger there is not one of a noun in the vocative case ending in *an* or *enk*, but that all these examples are verbs or participles of the suffix-animate form or, as Heckewelder (in his *Correspondence with Duponceau*, p. 416) termed it, the "participial-pronominal-vocative form." The supposed Delaware vocative in *an* is a verb in the conditional (subjunctive) mood, 2d pers. singular of the subject with 1st pers. singular of the object, and the form is nearly the same in the Massachusetts language as in the Delaware. Zeisberger's "*Nihillatian*, O thou my Lord!" is, literally translated, 'Thou who ownest (or, art master of) me', i. e. 'Thou *as owning* me'; "*Pemauchsohalian*, O my Saviour!" is 'Thou *as giving life to* me', &c.* Eliot has *nawaan* 'thou that sayest' (thou *as saying*), and *máskowáan* 'thou that makest thy boast of', Rom. ii. 23; *ken wadohkean* 'thou that dwellest', Ps. lxxx. 1, &c. The supposed vocative in *-enk*, in the Delaware, is the 2d person singular of the subject with the 1st person plural of the object; "*Nihillatiyenk*, O thou our Lord!" (Zeisb. Gram. 116) is 'Thou who ownest

* Howse, *Cree Grammar*, pp. 310, 311, has shown that Zeisberger's vocatives "have verbal endings" and are all "in the Subjunctive or Subordinate mood."

(or, as *owning*) us.* When the subject is *plural*, and the object in the 3d person or the verb intransitive, Eliot uses a participle or verbal formed from the second person plural of the subjunctive by adding *-ish*: e. g. *kenaaun wonkanôgish ahtomp* ‘ye that bend the bow’, Jerem. i. 29; *kenaaun quoshôgish* ‘ye that fear’, Ps. cxv. 11; *kenaaun kôkôbsoôgish* ‘ye deaf’ (i. e. ye as not-hearing), *kenaaun pogkenumôgish* ‘ye blind’, Is. xlii. 18. But this form is not distinctively vocative, for it is found with the pronoun of the first person, as in I. Thess. iv. 15, 17, *nēnawun pamontamâgish kah apeâgish* ‘we which are alive and remain’, and Hebr. iv. 3, *nenawun wanamptamagish* ‘we who believe.’

In his search for vocatives in the Massachusetts language, Mr. Duponceau was “surprised to find different terminations of the same word, in various parts of Eliot’s translation of the Bible”, some of which he was at a loss how to explain, “otherwise than by the conjecture that our author might have had recourse to different Indian dialects in translating.” (Notes on Eliot’s Grammar, xiv.) He gave the following examples:—

Wuttaunoh Zion, ‘Daughter of Zion’. Lament. ii. 8. *Woi Jerusalemme wuttaunin*, ‘O daughter of Jerusalem’, v. 13.

Woi kenaaun Jerusalemme wuttaun eunk, ‘O ye daughters of Jerusalem’, Solom. Song, ii. 7.

Kah ompetak wuttôneu, ‘And she bare a daughter’,—as Mr. Duponceau translated it, but which in the verse cited (Gen. xxx. 21) stands for the words “and *afterwards* she bare a daughter”. He mistook the adverb *ompetak* ‘afterwards’ for a verb meaning ‘to bear’, and *wuttôneu* (misprinted, *wuttaneu*)—a verb in the 3d pers. sing. indicative present (aorist), meaning ‘she bare a daughter’, for a noun; remarking that the termination “*eu* in the accusative governed

* When Duponceau wrote his *Mémoire sur le Système Grammatical* &c., published in 1838, he had learned that the terminations which Zeisberger regarded as belonging to the vocative were verbal forms; but he was still persuaded that the words receiving these forms were *nouns* not *verbs*. “Au lieu du vocatif”—he says (*Mémoire*, p. 159)—on emploie une forme verbale qu’on applique au nom substantif; elle varie selon les nombres. Ces formes, qu’il est inutile de préciser davantage, tiennent la place du verbe être: ainsi, lorsqu’on dit: *Ô mon dieu!* c’est comme si on disait: *O toi qui es mon dieu!*” &c.

by an active verb" "cannot be accounted for", — which is quite true.

Of the three forms *Wuttaunoh*, *Wuttaunin*, and *Wuttauneunk*, he remarked that "the first is correct." So it is, — but not for the reason he assigns, that "it is a proper nominative of this word." If it were a nominative, it would stand in apposition with *Zion*, and the translation must be 'his (or her) daughter Zion.' But the termination *-oh*, with the pronominal prefix *wu'*, marks the governing noun (as in the Hebrew *construct form*), — 'the daughter of.'

Wuttaun-in is a proper nominative, its termination marking it as a noun-animate *indefinite*, 'a daughter' or 'any daughter.' That this termination *-in* is not "in the vocative singular" may be shown by reference to other verses in which the same form of the word occurs, — as a nominative, in Micah vii. 6, *wuttaunin ayeuhkonittué ohkasoh* 'the daughter, against her mother', and in Numbers, xxxvi. 8, *nishnoh wuttaunin noh ahtunk ohtoonk* 'every daughter that possesseth an inheritance', — and after a governing preposition, Levit. xii. 6, *wutch wunnaumondin asuh wuttaunin* 'for a son or a daughter.'

The termination of *Wuttauneunk*, — "*unk* in the vocative plural", as Mr. Duponceau regarded it, — is that of a *collective noun*, without reference to case or person. *Wuttaun eunk*, in the verse cited, means 'the daughters' collectively, *the daughterhood*; so, in Judges xxi. 21, we find *Shiloe wuttauneunk* 'the daughters of Shiloh', the Shiloh daughterhood. Nouns of this form are of frequent occurrence in Eliot's version. Thus we have *wómonook oweemattinneunk* 'love ye the brotherhood', I. Peter, ii. 17; *wutoashinneunk* 'the fathers' or the *fatherhood*, Numb. xxxi. 26; I. John, ii. 13; *wunnaumonainneunk* 'the children' collectively, Luke, xvi. 8.*

We are now in a position to sum up the evidence on which

* Molina (History of Chili, American translation, vol. ii. p. 303) mentions similar nouns collective in the Araucanian language, and classes them with abstract terms formed by adding *gen* (representing the verb 'to be') to adjectives or verbs. Thus, "instead of saying *pu Huinca* 'the Spaniards', they commonly say, *Huincagen* 'the Spaniolity', — *tamén cuiagèn* 'your trio', that is, you other three," &c. See Pickering's notes on Edwards's Observations &c., in Mass. Hist. Coll., 2d S., x. 120.

philologists have agreed to recognize a vocative case-ending of nouns in the Massachusetts language. We have only Mr. Duponceau's misinterpretation of two words employed by Eliot. He mistook the termination of a noun indefinite for that of the vocative singular, and made a vocative plural out of a noun collective.

The fact that no Algonkin language has an independent verb-substantive—a fact denied by Cass and Schoolcraft, and which has been questioned by many writers on American languages,—may now be regarded as established. Much of the discussion on this subject has turned on the precise meaning of the phrase by which Eliot translated “I am that I am”, in Exodus, iii. 14,—*Nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*.

Heckewelder, in reply to a question from Duponceau, could only say that this “could never be a literal translation of the text,” and that “if it means anything, it must be *either* “I am a man, I am a man,” *or* “I do so, I do so.” Duponceau, “after much consideration and study of the subject, inclined to the opinion that Mr. Heckewelder is right in his last conjecture” (Notes on Eliot's Grammar, xlii.); and in his *Mémoire* (p. 195) he unhesitatingly accepts this translation, as deciding the question of the existence of the verb ‘to be’ in Algonkin languages. “On a trouvé”—he writes,—“le moyen de la décider d'une manière qui ne laisse plus de doute. On a cherché dans la Bible indienne d'Eliot, la traduction du célèbre passage: *ego sum qui sum* (Exod. iii. 14), et on a trouvé *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*; on a cherché aussi dans le même livre, la traduction du passage *ego [sum] sicut vos*, dans l'épître de saint Paul aux Galates, ch. iv., v. 12, et on a trouvé *nen neyane kenaau*; on a envoyé ces deux passages ainsi traduits aux missionnaires les plus instruits dans les langues Algonquines, et ils ont trouvé que le premier signifiait: *je fais, je fais*; et le second: *nous nous ressemblons* ou *je vous ressemble*.”

Duponceau's dictum—founded, as we have seen, on a guess of Heckewelder's—was authoritative. Since the publication of the *Mémoire*, “I do, I do,” has been the accepted translation of Eliot's *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin*,—and has been

pointed to as a proof of the poverty of American languages.* No one apparently has taken the trouble to re-examine the text or to analyze the synthesis Eliot employed,—though this might easily have been done without other help than his version of the Bible itself affords.

To supply the want of a verb-substantive every Algonkin dialect has several verbs to express the *where* and the *how* of being,—modal and conditioned existence. Those which most frequently occur in Eliot's version are,—

1. *Ohteau* 'it has itself', the intransitive form of *ohtau*, 'he has', 'owns', 'possesses'. Used only when the subject is inanimate: e. g., *ayeuonk ohteau* 'the place is', Judg. xviii. 12; *pish ohteau* 'it will be', Gen. xvii. 13; suppositive or conjunctive, *ohtag*, 'if (or, when) it is', Matt. v. 14. Chippeway, "*até*, there is of it; it is" (Baraga); "*atta*, to be" (Schoolcraft).

2. *Appu* (Chip. *abi*, Baraga; Cree, *apú*, *abú*, Howse;) 'he sits', 'is at rest',—hence 'he remains', 'abides'; and so, 'he is' or 'continues to be'—in a state of rest or inactivity is implied. With an adverb of place, *wutappin*; as *na wutappin* 'he sat down there', Ruth, iv. 1, 'he *was* there', John, v. 5; *yeu wutappin* 'he is here', John, vi. 9; *toh kutappin?* 'where art thou?' Gen. iii. 9.

3. *Ayeu* (Chip. *ahyah*, Jones; *iau* 'he is', Schoolcraft—who has given a paradigm of it, as the Chip. verb 'to be',) 'he is in some place' designated; 'he is *there*', John, xi. 30; hence, 'he dwells' or 'inhabits'. *Noh ayeu kah appu* 'he dwells and abides', Job, xxxix. 28: imperfect, *nut-ai-up* 'I was there', Acts, xi. 5: conjunctive, *âyit*, *aiyit* (Chip. *ahyod*, Jones), *noh âyit machemotagit* 'he that inhabiteth (i. e. *as inhabiting*) eternity', Is. lvii. 15. The 2d person conjunctive (*âyeau*, Eliot,) of this verb is found in various Algonkin versions of the Lord's prayer; "who art in Heaven", Moheg. *ne spum-muck oieon* (Edwards); Old Abnaki, *spemkik aïian*; Old Pas-samaquoddy, *spemkik éhine* (Vetromile, from Rasles?), Ma-

* Mr. Farrar introduces it (Chapters on Language, p. 54), to illustrate of the "primordial and unbroken barbarism of the North American Indians", etc.,—and again, in his Lectures on Families of Speech, p. 183, to show the "almost imbecile deficiency of abstraction," which characterizes American languages.

reschit, — *eyane* (Ib.); Chip. *ishpimingk eaiün* (Testament), &c. Eliot's version *omits* the verb; "Our Father in Heaven."

4. '*Nnih*, *Unnih*, 'it is so' or (aorist) 'it was so', Gen. i. 7, 9, 15. Eliot uses this word for the phrase 'it came to pass' or 'comes to pass'. Imperat. 3d pers. sing., *ne naj*, *ne natch*, 'be it so.'

5. *Neane*, *Neyane*, 'it is like' or 'the same as'; as in the passage cited by Mr. Duponceau, Galatians, iv. 12, *nen neyane kenaau* 'I [am] as ye [are]'. The imperative 2d pers. plural (with 1st person sing. object) and the adverbial form are found in the same verse: *unniyegk neyanië* 'be ye as I [am]'. The conjunctive participle *neáunak* (or *-nag*) used as a noun, 'that which is like' or 'being like', stands for 'likeness', 'appearance', 'color', 'fashion' of, &c.: *neáunag yeu muttaok* 'the fashion of this world', I. Cor. vii. 31.

6. *Wuttinniin* 'he is of the kind of' or 'is such as'. This verb cannot be exactly translated in English. It expresses the relation of an individual to a species or a class, the *appropriation* of its subject to an object expressed or understood, a *belonging-to*,—not merely external likeness or relation. It is conjugated in the present indicative as follows:

nuttinniin, I am of the kind of, I am such as,

kuttinniin, Thou art of the kind of,—such as,

wuttinniin, He is of the kind of,—such as.

It occurs not unfrequently in Eliot's version; e. g., Prov. xxiii. 7, *neáne unnantog ut wuttahkut*, *ne wuttiniin* 'as he thinketh in his-heart so is he', i. e., of that kind is he; I. Sam. xxvii. 11, *ne pish wuttinniin* 'so will be his manner', i. e., that will he-be-of-the-kind-of; and Is. xxiv. 2, *neaniit wuttinneumin*, *ne wuttinniin wussontimomun* 'as with the servant, so [of that kind is] his master.' In Exodus, iii. 14, *nen nuttiniin nen nuttinniin* means, literally, 'I myself am of the kind of I myself am of the kind of' or 'I am such as I am such as'—*Ego sum talis qualis ego sum*, for the "Ego qui sum" of the Vulgate and the "I am that I am" of the English text. Marked emphasis is given to the pronoun of the first person by using both its forms (independent and prefixed) with each verb,—*nen n'*-, 'ego ipse'.

In the first edition of Eliot's Bible (1663), *ne* 'that' stands in the place of the second *nen*. This was corrected on revision, because *ne*, the inanimate demonstrative, cannot properly be employed to denote the subject or object of a verb animate.

The very general use of *transitional* forms of conjugation, in which the pronoun of the object as well as of the subject is combined with the verb, has led some distinguished writers on American languages to infer that the Indian verb cannot be divested of its pronominal suffix. Edwards (Observations on the Muhhekanew Language, p. 13) states, that the Mohegans "never use a verb transitive without expressing both the agent and the object, correspondent to the nominative and accusative cases in Latin. Thus they cannot say, 'I love', 'thou givest', &c. But they can say, 'I love thee', 'thou givest him', &c. viz. *Nduhwhunuw* 'I love him or her'; *nduhwhuntamin* 'I love it,' &c. Mr. Cass, in an article on the Indian Languages, in the North American Review (for January, 1826; vol. xxii. p. 80) made a similar statement; "The pronouns, actor and subject, are associated with the verb. One is prefixed, and the other is suffixed; and the latter is generally inseparable in its form. The active verbs cannot be used without this personal association. An Indian cannot say *I love*, *I hate*, *I fear*, abstracted from the operation of the verb upon the object." Mr. Bancroft repeats this, substantially, in his observations on the synthetic character of the American languages (Hist. of the U. States, vol. iii., 12th ed., p. 261): "An Algonkin cannot say *I love*, *I hate*; he must also, and simultaneously, express the object of the love or hatred. . . . Each active verb includes in one and the same word one pronoun representing its subject, and another representing its object also."

Dr. Edwards was wrong — as the very examples he used for illustration show: but his error is less apparent because it is restricted to a denial of the use, by the Stockbridge Mohegans, of *transitive* verbs without a pronoun-objective. Mr. Cass's denial extends to all *active* verbs and to all Algonkin languages. Nothing can be farther from the fact. There is no Algonkin dialect in which an Indian may not say 'I love' or

'I hate', without denoting by a pronominal suffix the object loved or hated. He has for this the choice of three or four verbs; (1) strictly intransitive, affirming the existence of affection, 'I am in love' or 'I feel lovingly'; (2) animate-active intransitive (the adjective-verb form, as some grammarians term it) — affirming the exercise of affection, — 'I am loving' or 'I am a lover'; (3) active-transitive absolute, — the forms of which vary (but *not by a pronominal suffix*) as the implied object of affection belongs to one or the other of the two great classes of Indian nouns, animate and inanimate, the former class including not only all living beings but many *inanimate* objects held in special regard by the Indians. These forms serve, respectively, for the affirmations 'I love some person, animal or object of the class animate' (a bow, a kettle, or tobacco, it may be,) or 'I love something' not of that class. Either may receive in addition to the formative proper a pronominal suffix, — but each is complete without it.

It is true that a savage's conception of 'love', subjective or objective, differs from that of a Christian, and missionaries by whom the Algonkin languages have one after another been reduced to writing have not all agreed in the selection of the word which comes nearest to the meaning of the English verb *to love* or the French *aimer*. Eliot in Massachusetts and Roger Williams in Narragansett employed a verb the precise meaning of whose root (*wôm, waum*) is not ascertained. The Roman Catholic missionaries have generally adopted another, more common among the northern and western Algonkins, from the root *sâg, saug*, 'to cling' or 'hold fast'. With this explanation, the following examples are enough to show how 'I love' may be expressed in the principal languages of this family:

Massachusetts: *naw-womantam*, v. i., 'I love; am love-minded.' To verbs of this form, "expressing a disposition, situation, or operation of the mind", Zeisberger assigns a special conjugation (the third) in his Delaware Grammar (pp. 50, 89). In the Chippeway, they end in *-endam* (Baraga, p. 154). Examples may be found on almost every page of Eliot's version; e. g. *musquantam* 'he is angry', literally 'bloody-

minded'; *nut-jishantam* 'I hate', 'I feel hatred or abhorrence'; *noo-wabesuontam* 'I fear'; *nut-cheפשontam* 'I am frightened', &c. All these verbs may be used, with the appropriate suffix, as transitive *inanimate*, 'he loves it', 'he hates it,' &c.

Chippeway: *nin ságia* (Baraga), *ne saugeau* 'I love a person' (Schoolcraft),—but Baraga, more exactly, translates 'I love him, her, or it', remarking that, in this form, "the object upon which acts the subject of these verbs, is always contained in the verb itself." (Ojibwe Grammar, 200.) With the pronoun: *o ságian* (Bar.), *oo záhgeahn* (Jones), 'he loves him'.

Cree: *ne-sákehewán* 'I love some one' (indeterminate); *ne sákechegan* 'I love something' (indefinite); *ne-sákehewáywissin* (adj.-verb, active-intransitive.) 'I am loving' or, as Howse analyzes it, "I am love-someone-ing". Cree Grammar, 105, 114.

Northern Algonkin of Canada: *ni sakidjike* 'I love'. This form is "sans régime, exprimant un sentiment"; *ne sakiton* means 'I love it'; *ni sakiha*, 'I love him'.*

Miamac: "*kejalwei*, j'aime," is placed by Maillard (Gram. Mikmaq, p. 56) among verbs "qui ne reçoivent aucun régime dans leur acception",—"verbes sans régime".

Passing now to the consideration of another class of errors,—those which concern the *vocabulary*, including mistranslations, false analyses, and mistakes in the identification of words in Eliot's version corresponding to those in the English text,—our first example shall be taken from that "immense monument of historical research," the *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater. In the third part of this work Professor Vater gave (3te Abth., p. 388) a list of words in the language of the "Naticks, from Eliot". One of these words is "*Chequikompuk*", standing as the Natick name of the 'Sun'. Balbi, borrowing these words from the *Mithridates* reproduced them in his *Atlas Ethnographique* (Tab. xli.), where *Chequikompuk* appears as "Massachusetts or Natick" for 'Sun'. Now the Massachusetts name of the Sun—*nepáuz* (Narr. *nippáwus*, R. Williams,) occurs at least a hundred times in Eliot's version. In Joshua,

* Études philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amérique (Montreal, 1866), pp. 50, 55, 60.

x. 13, for the words: "the sun stood still", of the English text, we have "*nepáuz chegunikompan.*" Mistaking the order of the words, Prof. Vater sets the (mutilated) *verb* instead of the *noun* against the word '*Sonne*' of his vocabulary.

In the same volume of *Mithridates* (2te Abth., p. 349), the learned author notes the resemblance of "*cone*", as a New England word for 'Sun', to the Tatar *kun*. Unfortunately, *cone* (as Roger Williams wrote it; *koon* of Eliot and Cotton) means '*snow*', not '*sun*'. The same error is found in an earlier work of Vater's, (*Untersuchungen über Amerika's Bevölkerung*, Leipzig, 1810, p. 51), whence more than one comparative philologist has taken it as evidence of the relationship of American and Asiatic languages.

A similar mistake was made by Mr. Duponceau, in a list of words "selected from Eliot's translation of the Bible," and incorporated by Dr. Pickering with the verbal index to his edition of Eliot's Indian Grammar Begun.* Among these we find *Sohsúmóonk*, as the Massachusetts word for "Forest." Eliot's version has for 'forest', *touhkomuk*, (literally, 'desert place', 'wilderness',) from which was formed the adjective *touhkomukque*. *Sohsúmóonk*, a verbal from *sohsumw* 'it shines forth', was employed for the translation of the word 'glory', — literally, 'a forth-shining'. In Isaiah, x. 18, for 'the glory of his forest' we find *wut-touhkomukque sohsúmóonk* 'his forest glory', the English order of words being inverted, in accordance with the laws of Algonkin synthesis. Hence, doubtless, Mr. Duponceau's mistake.

Of all explorers of Eliot's 'rich mine' Mr. Schoolcraft was perhaps least successful. In the first volume of his *magnum opus*, "Information respecting the History &c. of the Indian Tribes," he gave (pp. 288-299) a vocabulary of nearly 300 words "extracted from Eliot's translation." How the extraction was effected, and what is the real value of the vocabulary as a contribution to comparative philology, a few specimens will show.

The first word is *Manitoo*, for 'God', with a reference to Gen. xxiv. 26 (by misprint probably, for 27). This should

* Massachusetts Historical Collections, 2d Series, vol. ix. p. liii.

be *Manit*, and should have been accompanied by the remark that it was not usually employed by Eliot as a name of the Supreme Being. Mr. Schoolcraft was wrong in saying (p. 287) that in Eliot's version "the words God and Jehovah appear as synonymes of *Manito*" or *Manit*. Those names were generally—"Jehovah" was *always* transferred to the Indian text; not translated by *Manit*. The form *Manito* (or *-tō*) combines with the noun the representative of the verb-substantive, and means '*Manit* is'. The plural, *manittwōog* (or *-tōog*), is used for 'gods' of the English version; as in I. Cor. viii. 5, *manitwōog monaog* 'gods many.'

"12. Husband, *Munúmayenok*",—for which Gen. xxx. 15 is cited. In that verse, *kencemunúmayeuonk nahsuk* stands for "thou hast taken away my husband". Mr. Schoolcraft mistook the verb for the noun; and rejecting the pronominal prefix—and something more, for *nee* belongs to the root,—he made, by help of a misprint, *munúmayenok*!

"13. *Nunaumonittumwos*. Wife. Job, xxxi. 10." For 'wife' Eliot has *mittamwussis* or *mittamwas*. *Nun-naumon* is 'my son', which Mr. Schoolcraft somehow contrived to mix up with *nummittamwos*, 'my wife', in the verse cited.

"47. *Kon*, Bone." The references are to Job, xxx. 30, xxxi. 22. In the former verse, *nuskonash* stands for 'my bones'; in the latter, *wutch wuskonit* for 'from its bone.' The root *uskon* 'bone' cannot be used without a prefix; *nuskon* 'my bone', *wuskon* 'his bone', or (indefinite) *muskon* 'any bone'. There is no such word as *Kon*.

"77. *Noonshoonum*, Boat. Acts, xvii. 16,"—an error for Acts, xxvii. 16, where *naumshoonun*—a verb in the first person plural (with its prefix)—means, "we came by boat". The noun *m'shōn* (*mushōn*, *mishōn*) 'a boat' is used in John vi. 22, Acts, xxvii. 30, &c.

"79. *Omoquash*, Sail. Acts, xvii. 17,"—another misprint, for Acts, xxvii. 17,—where *pungwōmuhquash* 'quicksands' happens to stand next to *nōkakinnumwog* 'they strake sail' (lit. 'they let it down'). The word for 'sail' is *sepághunk* 'that which is stretched out.'

"81. *Hunkauechtacaug*, Oar. Ezek. xxvii. 6." The man-

gled remains of *wuttuhhunkanéhteag*, 'they made thy oars',—a causative verb formed from *wuttuhhunk* 'oar' or 'paddle'.

"172. *Taskookau*, Thistle." No reference is given; but as *taskuhkau* is the 3d pers. sing. indie. present, of a verb meaning 'to tread upon', and as in 2 Chron. xxv. 18, *taskuhkauau kôgkôunogkohquohhouoh* stands for "he trode down *the thistle*", we may infer that Mr. Schoolcraft again mistook verb for noun.

"225. *Nunneem*, Pigeon. Levit. xv. 6." The word 'pigeon' (Mass. *wuskuhwhan*) does not occur in the verse cited, but it may be found in vv. 14 and 29 of the same chapter, as the object of the trans. anim. verb *neemunau* 'he takes'. This verb also occurs in v. 6 of ch. xiv. in the form *wunneemunoh* ('he takes it'). "*Nunneem*" is, I suspect, a misprint for *Wunneem*—the first two syllables of *wunneemunoh*.

And so on,—through the whole vocabulary. Prefixed to it are some observations on the "Massachusetts Indians" and their language, in which we find a curious mistake,—unsurpassed by any in the vocabulary itself. The language of Eliot's version is said (p. 287) to be "a well characterized dialect of the Algonkin", but Eliot found in it, "it appears, no term for the verb *to love*, and introduced the word '*womon*' as an equivalent, adding the Indian suffixes and inflexions, for person, number, and tense."

Mr. Schoolcraft ought to have known that this word was not of Eliot's invention or introduction. The intransitive, *womantam* 'he loves', the animate-active intrans. (or adjective, verb) *womoausu* 'he is loving' or 'a lover', and the trans. animate *womonau* 'he loves (some one)', with their derivatives, are much used in Eliot's version; but forms from the same root may be found in Roger Williams's Indian 'Key', printed in 1643, twenty years earlier: e. g., *waumaûsu* 'loving' (p. 140); *cowâmmaunsh* [in Eliot's orthography, *kw-womon-sh*] 'I love you'; *cowâmmañuck* 'he loves you'; *cowâmmaus* 'you are loving' (p. 8), &c. Earlier yet, in Wood's rude "Nomenclator" (appended to *New England's Prospect*, 1634), we have "*warmauseu*, an honest man" (for 'a kindly disposed' or a 'loving' man), and "*noewammawause*, I love you."

This story of Eliot's manufacture of an Indian verb 'to love' from the English word 'woman' will always find believers. It belongs to the same class with that of the mistake made in the translation of Judges, v. 28, "The mother of Sisera looked out at a window and cried through the lattice",—where, it is said, for 'lattice' Eliot used an Indian word which really means 'eel-pot'. This story has been printed scores of times, —and will continue to be printed, for it is 'too good to be lost'. There are only two exceptions to be taken to it: (1) that the Indian eel-pot was of 'lattice work' and that its name would not be a *mistranslation* of 'lattice,' though hardly a *sufficient* translation; and (2) that in the verse in question Eliot *did not translate the word* 'lattice' *at all*, but transferred it from the English to the Indian text, adding only the locative suffix: "*papâshpe lattice-ut*, through the lattice."

Eliot's work has not been appreciated, even by scholars, as highly as it deserves to be. Mr. Howse—the author of a valuable "Grammar of the Cree Language" (London, 1844,)—remarks in his Introduction, that "from the circumstance of Eliot's having translated the Bible into the language of the Massachusetts Indians, or rather *from his being the reputed translator, (which is a very different thing.)* it has been *erroneously supposed* that he was thoroughly versed in their language:" Mr. Howse was "much inclined to think, however, that grammatically considered, it is an imperfect performance," and that, "if *correct*, it was formed only by the assistance of a half-breed interpreter." A *half-breed* interpreter co-operating with the good Apostle to the Indians, in Bible-work, in puritan Massachusetts, and before 1660!

But "the most unkindest cut of all" at the *Wunnectupanatanawee Up-Biblum* was given by a chip thrown from Max Müller's German workshop. This eminent scholar, in a paper (first published in 1862) on the Abbé Brasseur de Bourbourg's translation of the Quiché *Popul Tuh*,* mentions "the translation of the Bible in the Massachusetts language" as a specimen of *picture-writing*, and informs his readers that "the verses from

* Chips from a German Workshop, vol. i. (1867), p. 320. The list of symbols stands between quotation marks, but Prof. Müller does not give his authority for the statement.

25 to 32 in the thirtieth chapter of Proverbs are expressed by 'an ant, a coney, a locust, a spider, a river (symbol of motion), a lion, a greyhound, a he-goat and king, a man foolishly lifting himself to take hold of the heavens'. No doubt these symbols would help the reader to remember the proper order of the verses, but" — observes Prof. Müller, and I shall not venture to differ with him on this point, — "they would be perfectly useless without a commentary or without a previous knowledge of the text."

NOTES ON
FORTY ALGONKIN VERSIONS
OF THE LORD'S PRAYER.

BY J. ^WHAMMOND TRUMBULL.

FROM THE TRANSACTIONS OF THE AM. PHILOLOGICAL ASSOCIATION, 1872.

HARTFORD:
1873.



NOTES ON FORTY VERSIONS OF THE LORD'S PRAYER IN ALGONKIN LANGUAGES.*

In offering as a contribution to the comparative grammar of Algonkin languages some desultory notes on versions of the Lord's Prayer, I do not overlook two considerations that affect the value of any results to which collation and analysis of these versions may lead: first, the probability that few of the translators had a competent knowledge of the languages into which, respectively, their translations were made; and secondly, a certainty that the true meaning of this prayer, in its several petitions, cannot be conveyed to any savage tribe by mere translation, and consequently that the *best* version is not likely to be that which is most *literal*. Scarcely a word — not more than three or four, certainly, — in the English version can be literally translated into any Algonkin language without injury to the sense of the clause in which it occurs. Some words represent ideas which are foreign to the Indian mind. Others have become to all who, in any tongue, have made this prayer their own, mere vocal symbols, whose significance does not inhere in the letter. The words *father*, *heaven*, *kingdom*, *earth*, *bread*, *debts*, *trespasses*, *temptation*, *have*, to a Christian, other than their literal or primary meanings. For *hallowing* and *forgiving*, the untaught savage had neither words nor conceptions.

The versions here brought together cover a period of nearly two and a half centuries — between the Montagnais of Father Massé (printed in 1632) and the latest revision of the Chipeweway New Testament. They are the work of missionaries of various nations and languages — French, English, Swedish, German, — and were made, not directly from the Greek, but each from that European version which was most familiar to the translator. And each translator has adopted a phonetic

* Presented at the New Haven session, July, 1871, and subsequently revised and extended.

system of his own — to which we are too often left without a sufficient key. Some have been satisfied with giving a very free translation or paraphrase. Others have aimed at literal exactness. Hence, the difference between two versions does not necessarily indicate a corresponding difference between the dialects in which they are made. Two versions in the *same* dialect even, by different translators, may have scarcely a word or a grammatical form in common, and yet both may be equally good, or bad. Illustrations of this may be found in the notes, by comparing the re-translations of any one petition in several versions. As regards some particular words — those for which the Indian languages furnish no satisfactory equivalents — a few examples will show how much of the difference of versions belongs to the translators and not to the dialects :

There is no verb ‘to be’ in Algonkin languages, and no relative pronoun. ‘Qui es’ or ‘who art’ cannot be exactly translated into any of these languages. Eliot, following the Greek, *omits* the verb in the invocation, and puts “Our father in heaven” (vers. 10). Others are divided in their preference for one or the other of two verbs (both of which are, I believe, to be found in every Algonkin dialect) meaning, respectively, ‘to sit’ — hence, ‘to remain,’ — and ‘to be in (this or that) place’ — hence, ‘to dwell.’ To the former belong Micm. *ebin* (v. 1), Del. *t’áppin*, *epian* (vv. 16, 17), Cree *epian* (v. 19), Alg., Chip. and Ott. *epian*, *ebiian* (vv. 23, 24, 28), Potaw. *ebiyin* (v. 31) &c.; to the latter, Abnaki *éhine*, *aiian*, *ayan*, *éion* (vv. 6, 7, 8, 9), Moh. *oieon* (v. 13), Cree *eyayan* (vv. 18, 20b), Chip. *ayahyan*, *eaiun* (vv. 26, 27), &c.

“In heaven” is variously rendered — ‘in the sky,’ ‘in the place of light,’ ‘on high,’ ‘beyond the clouds,’ etc. — by words any one of which (divested of its locative inflection) would have been as readily understood, in its natural sense, by Algonkins of other dialects as by those for whom Christian teachers gave it a secondary and special meaning.

Bread was not the staff of life to an Indian, and his little corn-cake, baked in hot ashes, was perhaps about the last thing he would remember to pray for. So, on “daily bread,”

translators were left to a large discretion. The diversity of judgment manifested in the selection of a corresponding Indian word is noticeable. Eliot (in Matt. vi. 11) has 'our eatings' or 'victuals'—avoiding a literal translation of 'bread': and so, in the earliest Montagnais version (21) of Massé,—about which another Jesuit father, Paul Le Jeune, in the *Relation* for 1635, has a story: a Montagnais disciple being questioned as to his religious life, professed to have "always remembered the *best* of the prayers which had been taught him" by the missionaries; "I asked this savage," says Le Jeune, "what prayer this was, that he preferred to all others? 'Thou hast told us many things,' he replied, 'but the petition which seemed to me best of all is: *Mirinan oukachi-gakhi nimitchiminan*, give us to-day our victuals, give us something to eat: *voilà une excellente oraison!*' said he." "I was not surprised," remarks the good father: "he who has been in no other school than that of the flesh knows not how to speak the language of the spirit."*

The root of *ni-mitchi-minan*—that of the primary verb 'to eat'—is found in the Quiripi version (15), Montagnais (v. 22), Chippeway (vv. 24, 27), Illinois (v. 37), and Potawatomi (v. 31). In Luke xi. 3, Eliot has *petukqunneg*, the common name for an Indian cake, meaning literally 'something rounded'; and with this correspond the Conn. versions (11, 12), Mohegan *tquogh* (v. 13), Shawano *tukwhàh* (v. 35), *tuckwhana* (v. 33), and *tockquanimi* (34). The Abnaki versions (6–9) have 'baked corn'; the Delaware (16, 17) 'pone' or 'Indian bread'—literally, 'something baked'; one of the modern Cree versions (Archdeacon Hunter's, 20b) substitutes 'what we may live on,' 'what sustains life'; the Algonkin of Canada (23), Cree (18, 19, 20), Chippeway of Belcourt and Jones (25, 26), Ottawa of Baraga (28), Menomini of Boudnel (32), have dialectic forms of a name by which the northern Algonkins distinguished a wheat *loaf* of the European fashion—as 'something from which pieces are to be cut off,' that is, 'to be cut in slices,' not broken like the corn cake: Chip. *pakwéjigan*; and *pakwéjiganimin* 'loaf-bread corn,' i. e. wheat.

* *Relation de la Nouvelle France en l'année 1635*, p. 17.

Of the versions here brought together, two are printed for the first time — Mayhew's Connecticut (Mohegan), from his own MS., and the Kennebec Abnaki (v. 9) from a copy made by some missionary from Rasles's or an earlier original. Peirson's Quiripi version (15) was printed in 1658, but it may be regarded as unpublished, since no more than two copies of the volume which contains it are known to be extant, and only one of these is on this side of the Atlantic.* The Montagnais of Father Massé (21) is from Champlain's *Voyages* in the edition of 1632 — to be found in few American libraries; and the later Montagnais of La Brosse (22) is from a volume of which I have not been able to trace more than three or four copies. Of the remaining versions the greater number are from books printed by missionaries or for mission use, which seldom find their way to public libraries or come within reach of private collectors.

I have been at some pains to ensure accuracy of text, but some errors of former impressions have doubtless escaped correction or notice, and in one or two instances, where the version was hopelessly bad and it was not possible to distinguish the mistakes of the printer from those of the translator, I have chosen to leave the text as I found it, merely calling attention to its general inaccuracy. I have found few versions of of this prayer, not printed at a mission press or under the eye of the translator, which were free from typographical errors. Even in that great philological museum, the *Mithridates* of Adelung and Vater, the Algonkin specimens are by no means well preserved. Some six or seven errors appear in the reprint of one Shawano version (33) and the division of its last three clauses is mistaken, the sixth and seventh petitions being joined as one, and a new seventh borrowed from the first words of the doxology. In the copy of Edwards's Mohegan (13), taken at second hand from the *American Museum*, are eight errors; six, at least, in the Massachusetts of Eliot, and in Zeisberger's Delaware (from Loskiel) four, besides an important omission of two words in the last clause.

* In the library of Mr. James Lenox, New York. The other copy is in the British Museum.

In many of these versions, perhaps in nearly all of them, mistakes may be found for which neither printers nor editors are responsible. The translations are of unequal merit. There is a wide difference between Massé's Montagnais version of 1632 and the last revision of the Nipissing-Algonkin version of the mission at Kanachtageng. The latter, with a few others, in dialects which have been studied by generation after generation of missionaries for a century or two, and with the assistance of educated natives, may be regarded as nearly perfect. But the greater number were first essays at translation into languages which the translators did not yet well understand. That they did not always succeed in giving the precise meaning at which they aimed, or that the rules of Indian grammar were often violated, is not to be wondered at. On the contrary, it is surprising, the difficulties of the task considered, that so much has, on the whole, been so well done. Absolute mastery of an Indian tongue is, for one to whom it is not vernacular, the work of a life-time. "Neither have I yet fully beat it out," — John Eliot confessed, after twenty-five years' study of the mystery of Algonkin verbs. "Ils ont une richesse si importune qu'elle me jette quasi dans la créance que je seray pauvre toute ma vie en leur langue," — wrote Father Paul Le Jeune from Canada in 1634: "*Je jargonne néanmoins, et à force de crier je me fais entendre.*" And the first missionaries all 'jargonned' long before they learned to speak or write correctly any Indian language. Under what disadvantages their studies were prosecuted need not be pointed out. They had no competent interpreters, and the Indians, generally, were not "apt to teach." "I must ask twenty questions to learn the meaning of one word," says Le Jeune, "so little inclined is my teacher to give instruction, and at every new difficulty I encounter, I must give him a piece of tobacco, to gain his attention." And sometimes the teacher was mischievous and played cruel tricks at the expense of his spiritual guides — as one of the pioneers in Canadian missions* sadly, yet not without a touch of humor, relates: "These savages have no settled religion and no words or forms

* Biard's *Relation de la Nouvelle France* (1611).

of speech suited to religious expression: 'holy, blessed, angel, grace, mystery, sacrament, temptation, faith, law, government,' etc. — what resource have you in a language which is destitute of all such words, or how can you do without them? *O Dieu, que nous devisons à nostre aise en France!* And the savages often make sport of us instead of teaching us, and sometimes they give us indecent phrases (*paroles déshonnêtes*) which we innocently go on preaching as the beautiful words of the gospel. God knows who have been the instigators of such sacrilege as this!" And yet the interpreter may have been guiltless and have fallen on the "*paroles déshonnêtes*" while doing his best to translate words he did not understand into a language which had no forms of speech to express their meaning. Such mistakes are familiar to the experience of almost every missionary. When the Jesuits established, in 1845, the mission of St. Ignatius among the Selish Kaluspels and Pend d'Oreilles on Clark River, they found these Indians "utterly ignorant of spiritual things; they had no idea of a future State, or of a Great Spirit, neither had they any idea of a soul. . . . In the beginning the priests were obliged to depend upon the imperfect translations of half breed interpreters. The word 'soul' was singularly translated to the Indians by telling them that they had a gut which never rotted, and that this was their living principle or *soul*."*

Some of the ancient versions, though generally less accurate than those which are more recent, have an incidental value in the evidence they give of the constancy of Indian dialects — a subject to which I must here only briefly allude. Similar testimony is borne by every old vocabulary, by geographical and local names which come to us from the sixteenth century, by all that early missionaries tell us of the peculiarities of Algonkin dialects, and by such specimens of these dialects as can be gleaned from the annual Relations of the Jesuits and from the narratives of discoverers and explorers of New France. Not that these languages more than

* Gov. Stevens's Report on the Indians of Washington Territory, in the *Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs*, 1854. (p. 420.)

others have been exempt from the operation of the law of decay and growth. In the course of two or three centuries some changes have doubtless been wrought in Algonkin forms of inflection and transition, old words have been dropped and new syntheses framed. In the frequent migrations of tribes, in the isolation of clans, by the gathering of remnants of nations in new communities, and as a result of long subjection to foreign influence, local dialects may have sprung up. But that changes by dialectic growth and phonetic decay have been more rapid or more extensive in North American than in European languages, I find no good reason for asserting.

The order in which the following versions are arranged is nearly the same that Mr. Gallatin adopted in his Introduction to Hale's Vocabularies. I have placed by themselves the dialects which have been called "Delaware"—one of which, at least, seems to have closer affinity with languages of the interior than with those of the Atlantic seaboard. There is less difference between the dialects of New England and the Powhatan of Virginia, than between either of these and the "Lenni-Lenape" of Zeisberger.

EASTERN.

- | | | |
|---|----------------------------|-----------------------|
| { | 1. Micmac (Gaspesian), | New Brunswick. |
| | 2. " " | Cape Breton ? |
| | 3. " " | Nova Scotia. |
| { | 4. Milicite (Etchemin), | St. John's River. |
| | 5. " " | Nova Scotia. |
| { | 6. Abnaki, Passamaquoddy, | |
| | 7. " " | |
| | 8. " Penobscot, | |
| { | 9. " Canniba, | St. Francis. |
| { | 10. Massachusetts. | |
| | 11. Connecticut, Niantic ? | |
| | 12. " Pequot-Mohegan ? | |
| | 13. Mohegan, Housatonic, | Stockbridge. |
| | 14. " " " | |
| { | 15. Quiripi, | near New Haven, Conn. |

DELAWARE.

16. Renapi, of New Sweden, Delaware Bay and River.
 17. Lenni Lenape, Northern Pennsylvania.

NORTHERN.

- | | | |
|---|---------------------------|-------------------------|
| { | 18. Cree or Knisteno, | Red River. |
| | 19. " " | Saskatchewan. |
| | 20(<i>a, b, c</i>), " " | Red River and Northern. |
| | 21. Montagnais, | Quebec, 1632. |
| | 22. " " | Saguenay, 1767. |

LAKE REGION.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|------------------------------|
| { | 23. Nipissing-Algonkin, | Lake of the Two Mountains. |
| | 24. Chippeway, | South of Lake Superior. |
| | 25. " Northern, | |
| | 26. " Missisauga, | |
| | 27. " " | South of Lake Superior. |
| | 28. Ottawa, | East Shore of Lake Michigan. |
| | 29. " " | Indian Territory. |
| | 30. Potawatomi, | St. Joseph's River. |
| { | 31. " " | Council Bluffs, Mo. |
| | 32. Menomoni, | Wolf River, Wisconsin. |

SOUTH WESTERN.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------|--------------------|
| { | 33. Shawano, | Miami River? |
| | 34. " " | " |
| | 35. " " | Indian Territory. |
| | 36. Illinois, Peouaria, | Northern Illinois. |
| | 37. " ? | Indian Territory. |

NORTH WESTERN.

38. Sitsika or Blackfeet.

The authorities on which I have chiefly relied are indicated in the notes on the several versions. To one or another of the following works, references will be found on almost every page: Eliot's translation of the Bible in the Massachusetts dialect, in the edition of 1685 (El.), and his "Indian Grammar Begun," 1666 (El. Gr.); Roger Williams's "Key into the Language of America" (R. W.) in the dialect of Narraganset, which does not much differ from that of Massachusetts;

Edwards's "Observations on the Language of the Muhhekanneew Indians" of Stockbridge, Mass., first printed in 1788 (Edw.); Maillard's "Grammaire Mikmaque" (M.); Rasles' "Dictionary of the [Canniba dialect of the] Abnaki Language," edited by J. Pickering (Rasles, or R.); Baraga's "Otchipwe Dictionary" (Bar.) and "Otchipwe Grammar" (Bar. Gr.), and the American Bible Society's last revision of the "Ojibwa Testament"; Howse's Cree Grammar (Howse); "Études Philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amérique, par N. O., ancien missionnaire," Montreal, 1866, and the "Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages," by the same author—a learned Sulpician, lately of the mission of the Lake of the Two Mountains, near Montreal, whose valuable contributions to the knowledge of North American languages I have ventured to cite by a name (Cuoq) which does not appear on their title-pages.

1. MICMAC.

From *Mithridates*, Th. III. Abth. 3, p. 401, where it was printed from a MS. letter of Veyssière de La Croze, to H. Bartsch of Königsberg, written between 1717 and 1728.* The *u* stands for Germ. *u* long (the *s* of the Jesuit missionaries and of Eliot).

Ūchiek ūaiok ebin:

1. Kehijūrek kech kermūrek ignemūiek.
2. Ooiok evidadeziben ignemūiek.
3. Chaktūrideziben ignemūiek telamokchitich oaiok ekkik chaktachkik.
4. Kichkū nir ūnan echimūiek ndo echimideziben markodemideziben.
5. Ūinsoudi mū ktigariū telamok ūinsoudi dnūigik ninen mū ktigariock.
6. Mū to tentationka pemiedezen ignemūiek.
7. Merūich kechinogūambil ūinchigil tūaktuiek.

Telek eta Jesūs.

As translated:

"Omnium-rerum-creator in coelis habitans: ¹ Te-amare et honorare da-nobis; ² In-cœlum ut-eamus da-nobis. ³ Ut tibi-simus-obedientes da-nobis quemadmo-

* *Mithridates*, Th. i. (*Anhang*) p. 667. In a letter from Bayer to La Croze, in 1719 (for knowledge of which I am indebted to Professor Abbot of Harvard) this version "*Gaspesianorum seu Crucioctonum*" is referred to, as already known to J. L. Frisch, by whom it may have been communicated to La Croze. *Thesaurus Epistol. Lacrozianus*, vol. i., p. 44.

dum in-cœlis tibi obedientia præstatur. ⁴ Hodie nostram escam da-nobis-manducandam tunc habentes-ad-manducandam manducabimus. ⁵ Peccatorum non recorderis sicut peccatorum in-nos hominum non recordamur. ⁶ (Ut) non in-tentationem intremus da-nobis, ⁷ potius malas cogitationes procul-a-nobis repelle. Sit ita, o-Jesu."

After large allowance for errors of transcription and the press (compare *ûaiok*, *ooiok*, *oaiok*,—three forms of the same word, for "in cœlis"), it is evident that the translator's knowledge of the Micmac language was very slight. Of the inflections or transitions of verbs he seems to have known nothing. Maillard's paradigms* enable us to point out and correct some of the more obvious errors of this version. *Ignemûiek*, which stands in the 1st, 2d, and 3d petitions, for "da nobis," is in the *indicative present*, 2d~1st person, and means 'thou givest me,' or 'you give us,'—and the form requires an inanimate object in the *singular*. It is from the verb *ignemœey* I give (M. 56). For "da nobis," the proper form is *ignemûin*. *Evidadeziben* (a misprint for *erida*-or *elida*- from *eliey* 'I go,' M. 91), *chaktûrideziben* (from *chaktem* 'I obey,' M. 57), *echimîdeziben* from *echemœey* 'I give to eat,' M. 93), *markodemîdeziben* (from *malkodem* 'I eat it,' M. 62), and *pemîdeziben* (from *pemawley* 'I conduct,' M. 56), have the termination (-*kccheben*, M.) which belongs to the 2d pers. pl. of the conditional preterit. *Echimûiek*, in the 4th petition, and *tûaktûiek*, in the 7th, are in the *indicative*, and signify, respectively, 'thou givest us to eat' and 'thou castest out' (from *teowaxtœey†* "je jette dehors," M. 93)—not 'give thou to us' and 'cast out from us.' *Kichkû* (4th pet.) means 'dies,' not 'hodie'; the adverbial form is *kichkûk* 'on a day', i. e. to-day (M. 28).

Ûchiek (in the Latin translation, "omnium rerum creator") has the transition-form of 2d sing.~1st pl., from the root *ûch* (Mass. *wutche*, *otchi*, Abn. *otsi*, Chip. *ondji*) 'from, by, out of.' From this root come the name for 'father' and the

* *Grammaire de la langue Mikmaque*, par l'abbé Maillard, redigée par J. M. Bel-lenger. (J. G. Shea, New York, 1864.)

† Maillard uses the italic *k* (for which I substitute *χ*) as "rather a sign of strong aspiration than a letter," and says, "our aspirated *h* might be substituted for it." Father Demilier (*Ann. de la Propagation*, viii. 197) observes that the Micmac language has an agreeable sound "though almost wholly made up of gutturals."

primary verbs signifying 'to proceed from, or out of,' 'to have as a cause or origin,' and, actively, 'to cause, originate,' 'to from,' 'to father' (Mass. *noh wutchu* . . . *nish wame* "of him are all things," Rom. xi. 36; Abn. *kia wtsi* "tu es cause que; c'est à cause de toi"): *uchiek* means 'thou art the cause of us,' 'thou from-est us,' the form being that of the indicative — not of the conditional 'thou who art' or 'thou as,' &c. This invocation, literally translated, is: 'Thou art the cause of us, in brightness thou who sittest.'

4. *Nirūnan* 'our provision,' what we provide (or receive) for food. In version 2a we have the same word with the termination of the possessive, *nīlūnem*, and in v. 2b the inan. plural, *nīlunal*. 5. *Ūinsoudi* is in the singular: its plural appears in version 2, as *winsudil*: the root *win* signifies, primarily, 'unclean,' 'impure,' and in composition often, 'bad,' 'disagreeable': *winiei* 'je suis souillé,' *wini keguinamcoei* 'j'instruis mal' (Maill.): comp. Chip. *winia* 'I defile, make unclean,' *winisi* 'he is dirty, impure' (Bar.). *Dnūigik ninen* cannot mean "in nos hominum": perhaps we should read *lnwīgik ninen*: *ninen* is the excl. plural of *nīl* 'I me,' and *l'nw* 'man' makes *l'nwīkik* in the plural preterit. 6. *Tenta-tionka* is evidently transferred from the French or Latin, receiving here the postposition of the locative.

Telek from *tēli* 'so' (*dēli*, *dēleg* 'it is so,' Maill. 26): *eta* 'thus, so,' unless it stands here for the 3d sing. future (*idal*, M.) of *edek* 'it is,' i. e. is *so*.

2(a). MICMAC.

Rev. C. Kauder, R. C. missionary, 1861 (accompanying "Micmac or Recollet Hieroglyphics," *Historical Magazine*, vol. v., p. 289). The vowels as in German: *w* for *o* or *ū*.

Nutschinen wasok ebin:

1. Tschiptuk deluisin mekidedemek;
2. Wasok n'telidanen tschiptuk igenemuiek ula nemulek uledessen;
3. Nadel wasok eikik deli-skedask, tschiptuk elp ninen deli-skedulek magamikek einnek.
4. Delamugubenikel essemiekel apseh nigetsch kiskuk delamuktetsch penegunemuin nīlunal;

5. Deli-abisiktaksik wegaiuinamedenik, elp kil Nikskam deli
-abisiktuin elueultiek ;
6. Melkenin metsch winsudil mu k'tigalinen,
7. Kesinukwamkel winschikel kokwel tuachtuin.
N'deliatsch.

2(b). MICMAC.

The same version, in a different phonetic notation, from Vetromile's *Indian Good Book*,* p. 225. Also printed, with an interlinear English translation — which is full of errors — in Vetromile's *The Abnakis and their History* (New York, 1866), p. 43. *W* and *oo* stand for *ū* (*oo*) ; *k* (italic) for Germ. *ch* ; *j* and *ch*, for *s* of the preceding version.

Nuschinen wajòk ebin :

1. Tchiptook delwigin meguidèdemek ;
2. Wajok n'telidànen tchiptook ignemwiek, ula nemùlek ule-
dèchinen ;
3. Nàtèl wajok deli chkedulk, tchiptook deli chkedulek makamiguk eimek ;
4. Delamùkubeniguel echimièguèl, apch neguèch kichkook
delamuktech penegunmemwin nilùnem ;
5. Deli abikchiktakachlik wègaiwinametnik, elkpil [elk kel]
deli abikchiktwìn elwèultiek ;
6. Melkenin mech winnehudil mu k'tygalinen ;
7. Keginukamkel winnehiguel twaktwin.
N'delietch.

As translated in the Historical Magazine :

"Our-Father light thou-art-sitting: ¹May as-those-art named honored.
²Heaven that we-go may us-give there we-see-thee we-will-be-happy. ³There [in]-heaven they-are as-they-obey-thee may also we so-we-obey-thee, [on]-earth we-are. ⁴The-same-food us-thou-hast-given again now to-day the-same-food to us let-come for-our-nourishment. ⁵As-we-pardon who-have-been-angry-with-us, also thou Great-Spirit thou-us-pardon sinners. ⁶Us-strengthen never-again bad-things not we-are-brought. ⁷Evils bad of-every-kind remove-from-us. That is true."

Vetromile's Translation :

"Our-Father in-heaven seated. ¹May thy-name be-respected. ²In-heaven to-us may grant thee to-see in-staying. ³There in-heaven as thou-art-obeyed may so-be-obeyed on-earth where-we-are. ⁴As-thou-hast-given-it-to-us in-the-same-manner also now to-day give-it our-nourishment to-us. ⁵[As-] we-forgive-them who-have-offended-us so thou O-God forgive our-faults. ⁶Hold-us-strong by-the-hand not to-fall. ⁷Keep-far-from-us sufferings, evils. Amen."

Nuschinen (*n'oschinen*, M.) 'our father'; from *otch*, with 1st pl. pronominal affixes. *Wajok* (*wasok* in vers. 2 a) means 'where brightness, or light, is,' 'in the light': *oajokæek*

* *Alnabay Uli Awikhigan*. *Indian Good Book*, made by Eugene Vetromile, S. J., Indian Patriarch, &c. (3d edition, New York, 1858.)

'light,' *ʷajokowi* 'I am light' (M.). Comp. Abn. *wasoé* 'the sun shines,' *wasséghen* 'it is clear,' with *wasaghéio* "vacué," *wasagaïwi* "inaniter, vide" (Rasles): Chip. *wássa* 'far off, very distant,' and *wásséia* 'light,' 'it is light.' From the same root, probably, come *waskutsh* in the Montagnais version (22), *ai̯sequamuk* in the Quiripi, and the Delaware *awossagame*. *Ebin* (2d pers. sing. cond. pres. of *abi*) 'thou who sittest' or 'remainest at rest': Mass. *ápean* ("thou that sittest," El. in Jer. xxii. 2), Del. *epian*, Alg. & Cree *epian*. Maillard wrote *ʷajok eimeligel* for "qui est au ciel," the verb being formed from *eim* "je suis" — more correctly, 'j'y suis,' 'I am in or at' a place named.

1. "May thy-naming be remembered," 'found-in-mind.' *Delwigin* 'as thou art called' or 'thy so-calling'; *delwigit* 'as he is called,' 'his name' (Vetrom. 501, 385). *Mekidèdemek* is from *mekidedem* (*miguidedem*, V. 401) 'I remember,' literally, 'find in mind,' Chip. *mikwendam*, Abn. *mì'kwitéha"-damen*. The form, in *-mek*, is that which Maillard gives as the infinitive present. The same word is used in a Miemae Te Deum, given by Vetromile, where *k'maldemek pegili mequidèdemek* stands for 'thy-blood most precious' (p. 500).

2. Vetromile's translation is all wrong here; the other is nearly correct. *N'telidànen* is from *eliey* 'I go,' 1st pl. pres. subjunctive, or infinitive future: *ula* (*ola*, M.) is a demonstrative adverb, 'there, in that place': *nemùlek*, the so-called participle of the verb *nemik* 'I see' (an animate object), means 'we having seen thee' or 'we when seeing thee.' 'To-heaven that-we-go mayest thou-grant-us, where we-seeing-thee we-will-be-happy.'

3. *Natel* (*natail*, Howse*) 'yonder,' 'in that place.' Vetromile omits *eikik* 'they [who] are' and *elp ninen* 'so also we.' *Eikik* is 1st plural and *eimek* 1st plur. of *eim* 'I am there.' *Dèli*, an adverb meaning 'such as,' 'so,' is a common prefix: as in *delwigin* 'thy so-naming,' in the final *n'deliatsch* 'I so wish,' and six times before verbs in the 3d, 4th, and 5th petitions. *Chxedulk*, *chxedulek*, are from *chaktem* (with anim.

* Vocabulary of "Language of the New Brunswick Indians," in *Proceedings of the Philological Society*, vol. iv. (1850), pp. 104—112.

obj. *chaktool*) 'I obey' (M. 57); comp. *nemùlek*, above. *Makamiguew* 'the earth,' *maxamiguek* 'on the earth,' is compounded of *ma* (*maw*, Maill. 31) 'all together,' 'the whole,' and the generic *-kamigé* 'place': comp. Abn. *ketakamigw* 'main land,' literally, 'greatest place.'

4. Neither translation is correct. In fact, the Micmac is untranslatable. What it was intended to mean is this: 'As we-have-eaten-that which-thou givest-us-to-eat, again now to-day so-let-us-eat [bread?] to-nourish-us.' *Dela-mùkubeniguel* and *dela-muktech*, are forms of *deli-malkodem* 'I so eat' (Maill. 62): comp. *markodem-ideziben*, in vers. 1: *-ben* is the characteristic of the preterit; *-el* final requires an inanimate object. *Echemièguel* (from *echemwey* 'I give to eat') is the object of the preceding verb: see Maillard (94), "Du verbe regime, alors un des verbes devient nominatif et l'autre accusatif," each receiving change of form. *Penegunemuin* is of uncertain origin, but seems to be derived from a word sometimes used for 'bread,' — *peneguik*, and in the Micmac catechism, as printed by Vetromile (*Good Book*, 391, 393), *pene-guik-took* 'of bread'; though *pibenakan* 'bread' is more common (M. 39, V. 393). *Nilunal* is not the plural of the pronoun 'to us,' but a plural noun-inanimate, or verbal, meaning 'our provisions,' 'supply of food': comp. *nirūnan* "nostram escam" (vers. 1), *nìlwnēn* (v. 3).

5. *Abikchikt-axachik* and *-win*, from *abikchiktwey* 'I pardon,' literally, 'I completely wipe away, blot out, efface.' The prefix, *abi*, is intensive. The root *kchik*, *ksik*, appears in Mass. *chiskham* 'he sweeps,' 'wipes,' Del. *tschiskham*, id., Chip. *gássüg-ade* 'it is blotted out, pardoned,' and *tchigataige* 'he sweeps.' *Elp* 'moreover, also'; *kil* 'thou' (not *elk kel*; nor *elpkil*, in one word, as in Vetr. 225). *Niskam* (*nixkam*, V.), introduced in vers. 2, is a word which the missionaries understood to mean 'spirit' and appropriated as a name for God*: *Kchi Nixkam* 'Great Spirit,' *Wegi-Uli-Nixkam* 'from Good Spirit' or 'Good Spirit proceeding from,' for the third person of the Trinity (Vetr. 365, 366): Abn.

* Biard says *Niscaminou* was a name of the Sun, which the Indians of Aeadie regarded as a god.—*Relation* (1616), p. 20.

niwéskw 'spirit,' *ketsi-niweskw* 'the Great Spirit' (Rasles). Maillard uses *Kijolk* ('the Creator') for 'God.'

6. *Melkenin* 'strengthen us,' 'make us firm'; from root *melki* 'hard, strong, firm' (Abn. *merké*, Mass. *menukki*), *melkei* 'I am firm, hard'; *melkalwoey* 'I strengthen, make secure' (M. 26, 87). *Metsch, mech*, 'more,' 'again.' *Winsudil* (*winnchudil* V.) inan. pl. of *Oinsodi*; see vers. 1: Vetromile's translation, "by the hand," is a strange mistake. *Mu ktigalinen*, from *ygaie* 'je heurte' (Mail. 47), for the negative form of the subj. pres. 1st plur., but the sign of the inclusive plural, *k'ty-*, is improperly used for *n'ty-* (*nous autres*).

7. The two English translations disagree—and Vetromile's is wrong—in every word: comp. vers. 1. *Winchiguel kokwel* (the plural of *kokwei* 'something') means 'bad things'; *tuachtuin*, or *twaktuin* as in vers. 1, from *teoxtooy* "je jette dehors" (M. 93), means 'cast out from us'; *keginuxamkel* (*kechinogūambil* "malæ cogitationes," vers. 1) is less clear.

N'deliatsch 'be it so'; see, above, pet. 3, *déli*.

3. MICMAC.

From The Gospel according to Saint Mathew, printed for the use of the Micmac Mission by the British and Foreign Bible Society (*Charlottetown*, 1853). Transliterated from the "phonetic alphabet" used in that version.*

Noochīnēn tan wasok eyumun:

1. Sabewadāsich ukwīsonumu.
2. Uktēlīgewitewoodim choogōīāch.
3. Ukoolīdedakunum tulīach makumīgēk stugech tēliak wasogu.
4. Tēsīgiskugewe nīloonēn kīskook igunumōin.
5. Āk tulī-abiksiktumōin n'tētādimkeweumīnulu, stugech nīnēn tēlī-abiksiktakujik tanik tētō-ināmujik.
6. Āk mōo ulīguldakunin asimtimkeweiktuk;
7. Kadōo ootalkalin winsodiktōogu.
8. Mudu kīl wedālīgāmin ēlīgewagī, ak mulgigunodī, ak ukpumīdēlsodī, yāpchōu. Amen.

* Pronounce: *a* as in *alms*; *ā* as in *am*; *e* as *a* in *age*; *ē* as in *edge*; *ī* as *e* in *eat*; *i* as in *it*; *o* as in *open*; *ō* as *oo* in *food*; *u* as in *up* (the neutral short vowel which some writers represent by *a*, others by *v*, and others by an apostrophe

'Our-Father who in-light dwellest.' *Tan* (pl. *tanik*) is used here and in the 5th petition as a relative, 'who,' and was so classed by Maillard (Gr. 21), though it is properly a demonstrative and interrogative; Mass. *toh*, Narrag. *tou*, *ta*? where? what? *tunna* 'whence'? Cree *tâna* 'which'? *tânitte* 'where'? Del. *ta*, *tani*? Eyumun (*eimen*, Maill.), 2d pers. indicative present from *eyum* (*eim*, M.) 'I am there'; *tan wasok ehk* 'he who is in heaven,' Matt. v. 16.

1. 'Let-it-be-thought-holy thy-name' — seems to be the meaning intended; but the verb is of questionable origin and form. The author of this version of Matthew uses *săbewit* and (inan.) *săbewik* for 'holy,' 'just,' 'righteous,' i. 19, vii. 6, *săbewooltījik* "the righteous" (plur.) ix. 13; and so, Vetro-mile in Ps. cxi. 3, *chabêwit* 'righteous.' Maillard translates the same participle, *chabewit*, by "sage." It is from the equivalent of Mass. *sampwi* = Lat. *rectus* (used by Eliot for 'straight,' 'right, just, righteous,' &c.) and of Abn. *sambiwî* 'fairly, justly,' "sans feinte" (R.): *săbewit* is properly used in Matt. i. 19 for 'a just man'; the derived verb *săbewadasi* (*chabewidachi* Maill.) means 'to think it just, or right,' — not 'to think it holy.' *N'wisonum* 'my name' (xviii. 20); *tel-wisit* 'named,' i. e. 'so called' (x. 2: comp. Mass. *wesuwok* 'calling,' 'name'): *k'wisonumu* 'thy name'; the pronom. prefix (*k*) "se prononce *eŭk*, très bref" (Maill. 11), or as this translator writes it, *uk*.

2. 'Thy-kingdom let-it-come.' *Eligewit* (*eléguéwit*, M.) 'king'; *wot-eligewagim* 'his kingdom' (xi. 12) or 'ownership.'

3. 'What-thou-willest be-it-so on-earth as it-is-so in-heaven (place of light).' *Tuliach*, *těliak*, from *těli* (*deli*, v. 2) 'so, such,' *tělek* (*děleg*, M.) 'it is such': *tělek stugech* "it is like to," such as (xiii. 31), *tělek stuge*, *teleek stuge* (xiii. 24, 33).

4. 'Of-each-day our-nourishment to-day give-us.' *Tesî* (*dech*, M.) as a prefix means 'each' or 'every'; *tesîgiskuk* 'daily' (xxvi. 55). *Nîlonēn*, see vv. 2, 2b. *Kîskwak* 'to-day' (*kiskogû*, xvi. 3; *kichkwak*, M.).

merely); *ch* as in *church*; the consonants as in English. In this phonetic alphabet *c* is marked as "always hard," but in the text both *c* and *k* are used, and *ap-
parently* represent the same sound. I have substituted *k* for the *c* (when not fol-
lowed by *h*) and distinguished the *k* of the original by a small capital.

5. 'And so-forgive-us our-owings as we so-forgive-them who owe-us.' *Tan tětōinu* "what thou owest" me (xviii. 28), *igunumcooch tětadimkeweyu* "he forgave [*lit.* gave] him the debt" (V. 27): *tětōinu* 'what is owed to me,' *tětadimku* 'what is owed by me.'

6. 'And not lead-us-away temptation-into.' The last word has the common Micmac postposition *iktook* 'into, within, with, on,' — which, says Maillard "va à merveille à la fin des mots surtout au singulier," but is often contracted to a simple 'k.

7. 'But keep-us-from what-is-evil.' *Kadoo* = *chkadō* "cependant" (Maill.), Mass. *qut* 'yet, except that, but' (El.).

8. "For to-thee it-belongs-to kingdom, and strength, and glory (?), Always." *Mudu* = *moodo* "cependant," Maill. *Wedāligāmin* is incorrect in form; whether used as verb or noun it should have the prefix of the *second* person and the termination *-al* or *'l* of the *inanimate* plural; comp. *aligan*, pl. *aliganal* 'property, goods,' *k'taliguemin'l* or *-gam'l* 'thy goods' (Maill. 18), *cotaligamul* 'his goods,' Matt. xxv. 14. *Yāpchow* 'always'; *yapchico*, M.

4. MILICITE.

[Indians of St. John's River; *Ulastekuhiek*, "Etchemins" of the French; Mareschites.] From Vetromile's *Good Book*, 71, 579.

N'miktankusena spemkik èyàne :

1. Sangmanwi tetanzit k'tliwizoti.
2. Tchibetook witcheyulèku.
3. Tanne etutchi saktask spemook, tchibatook na etutchi saktask k'tahkamikook.
4. N'pipenakan mina ena messiwi ghiskahkil weulinamekil elmighiskak n'pètsamièku.
5. Wenwekahinewinemet eli weulitelmoghet, kil na wekayulèku eli weulitehelmine.
6. Klotemwine katawi aneyulièku.
7. Melwas mètch ahikik mikokemièku ayma te tahantam-wine.

Tè èleyt.

Vetromile gives this as a specimen of "pure Mareschite," copied from "an ancient manuscript." Whatever difference of speech may formerly have been between the 'Etchemins'

of St. John's River and of Passamaquoddy Bay, the remnants of the two tribes now use substantially the same language, and a prayer (v. 6) which Vetromile prints on one page as "pure Passamaquoddy" appears on another as "Mareschite, that is, in St. John's Indian language" (*Good Book*, 20, 268). In an old MS. volume (more particularly described in a note after version 8) I find among prayers in "Marichit," another form of the above version, in which the Canniba *r* takes the place of Vetromile's "pure Mareschite" *l*, except in one word, *mailois* (= *melwas*) in the seventh petition; and some other peculiarities of local dialect are perhaps to be detected under the disguise of the writer's strange spelling. He used, indifferently, *c* and *qu* for *k* (but his *c* is soft before *e*), and *v* for Engl. *w* consonant (which I have substituted, in printing):

4(b). MILICITE.

* Quemitangousna spemquic eyn:

1. Sagmani todaso triuisodi.
2. Chiptoc ouichayorec.
3. Tanaitochei sactoceque spomoc, chiptoc natochei sactorec quetacmigouc.
4. Tepeipenoguepin meceiu quisgaquir uecouareine nemequir ermequiscac smin.
5. Woinoueca yououinemete eriuewoureitermeguet quir na woika yorec eri-woiwoureitermin.
6. Guerotemo ouin catiwounai yortiec.
7. Mailois majjai yguir micoemaiguir aymatatmouin.
Terech.

The invocation is substantially the same as in the Penobscot-Abnaki. 1. *Sangmanwi* (*sagamowee*, Rand) is from *sangman*, "the title which the Indians give to the first chief of the tribe, and" (according to Vetromile, *Good Book*, 278) "it means Over-the-whole-World." It is, in fact, the name which has been anglicized as 'sagamore' and 'sachem,' and means, simply, a 'chief,' 'one who has precedence.' Some of the missionaries used it for 'lord,' 'sovereign,' &c.;

* *Q* (*K*) of the *inclusive* plural is wrongly used for *N* of the *exclusive*; see note after versions 8, 9.

k'sangmàn'mena *Zezus* "our Sangman Jesus" (Vetr. 281) *sangmanwi* *Malial* (Hymn, id. 192) and *sangmanskwèwi* *Malial* 'female-sangman Mary (217); Micmac, *chakmau* (*chaxman*, M.) and *k'chakmaminen* (id. 438). The Canadian missionary, P. Le Jeune, says, of *sagamo*, "I believe this word came from Acadie. The true [Montagnais] word is *oukhimau*" (Relation, 1633, p. 8); comp. Chip. *ogimá*. *K'tliwizoti* (*kalawazùti* and *-zoti*, Vetr. 206, 190) 'thy name,' 'what thou callest thyself'; *telewēsotēk*, v. 5: but the form is incorrect, for *t* in the last syllable marks the name as belonging to an inanimate object: comp. Abn. *ēliwiziya*, *aliwisian*, vv. 7, 8. *Tetanzit* (*todaso*, v. 4b) stands for Fr. 'soit,' and is manufactured from the inanimate demonstrative (Abn. *tanni*) with the mark of the future imperative, to give the meaning, "Chief let-it-be (or, become) thy-name."

2. *Tchibatook* (*cheeptooke*, Rand), as in Micmac, is a strong affirmative, used only with regard to future or conditional action: Abn. *tsobatooi* "vraiment, oui" (Râle). *Witchiyulēku* 'come to us' (from the place where thou art): the root denotes 'coming from,' and does not necessarily imply 'coming to' the speaker: Micm. *tān wēgien* 'whence thou comest' (Maill. 22); Mass. *wutchaiyeu* 'he comes from,' *toh wadchiit* 'whence he comes' (El.); Chip. *odishi* and *ondashan* 'come hither' (Bar.). The verb is here in the imperative, 2d sing. Other forms occur in the Milicite prayers and hymns printed by Vetromile: *wēchi uleyàn* 'thou who comest,' *wēchi ulēyt* 'he who comes' (Veni Creator, p. 206).

3. *Tanne etutchi* . . . *na etuchi*, 'as it is there . . . so be it here.' *Saktask* (comp. *skedask*, *chxedoolk*, vv. 2, 3), from a verb meaning 'to obey,' the equivalent of Micm. *chaktem*, Abn. *ne-kiktam*. *Spēmook*, *spemkik*, 'in heaven,' literally, 'on high': *spemk te k'tahkemiku* 'heaven and earth' (Vetr. 307) and *spemook*, *ktahkamikook* (id. 190): see Abnaki versions.

4. *N'pipenakan'mina* 'our bread': Micmac *pipenakan* (Vetr. 393), *pibenokun* (Rand). In the Milicite Catechism (Vetr. 333, 334) *hepane* stands for 'bread,' = Abn. *aba'n*; see vv. 6, 7, post. *Messiwi* 'all, every' (Abn. *messiwi*).

Ghiskakil 'days,' inan. pl. of *ghiskak* (Mass. *kesukok*, Chip. *gajigak*) 'when it is day,' 'the day-time'; *elmighiskak* 'during this day, to-day,' = Abn. *érmekizegak* (R.).

N'petsamièku was intended to express 'give us': comp. Abn. *ne-piswimiran* 'I give it him, gratuitously,' and Micm. *pepcheiwi* 'I give him.' But the prefixed pronoun cannot properly be used with the imperative, and the verb itself is not well chosen, — 'I give to eat' being always expressed in Algonkin, by a single verb.

5. *Wèulitèhèlmine* 'pardon us' (comp. Abn. *nawritehaⁿmaⁿ* 'I pardon him' (R.)), is found in prayers &c. in the three dialects, Micmac, Milicite, and Abnaki (see Vetr. *Good Book*, 103, 183, 218, 45, &c.): *weulitelmanètch* 'pardon thou' (id. 214): *k'wèulitelmukunussa* 'thou who pardonest.' *Wekayuléku* (*weghiheuku*, V. 349) 'we do wrong' to others: *wekahinewinemet* 'who does wrong to us'? Comp. *wègaiwinametnik*, vers. 3; and Abn. *n'wéghihwoghé* 'he does me wrong,' *n'wéghihaⁿ* 'I do him wrong' (R.).

5. MILICITE.

Rev. S. T. Rand, in Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, &c, vol. v., p. 592.

Metoxsen'a spumkēk ayeën

1. Sagamowē telmoxse'en telewēsotēk.
2. Chēptooke wēcheyulēk
3. Spumkēk taun etoochē sauktoolēk spūmakaye'en.
4. Tooēpnauknāmēn kesekēsskalikēl wekayēulēk elmekēs-
kaak kēlmetsmin awoolē.
6. Mahatemooiin katē aléwanayoolte'ek
7. Elmas wechēakēl mekokemaykēl nemahatehumtoomooiin.

I have substituted *ē* for Mr. Rand's double *ee*, and omitted the hyphens between syllables. His vowels have apparently the English sounds. Schoolcraft prints this version in four clauses, marked by the four periods I have retained, and without other punctuation or separation of the petitions. The third petition is incomplete, the fifth is omitted, and the whole is so thick-strewed with errors of copy that time given to its examination would be wasted.

Mr. Rand was a Protestant missionary to the Indians of Nova Scotia and New Brunswick. He contributed to School-

craft's *Indian Tribes* (vol. v., pp. 578–589), a vocabulary of the Micmac language, and (vol. v., pp. 690, 691) a table of Milicite numerals. I regret my inability to procure a corrected copy of this version.

6. ABNAKI.

PASSAMAQUODDY.

From Vetromile's *Good Book*, p. 268, where it is said to be taken from "an old manuscript belonging (as Mr. Vetromile thought) to Rev. Sebastian Rasles." On p. 20, the same version is given, as "in Mareschite [Milicite] language." See note on Milicite v. 4.

N'miktakusen spemkik èhine :

1. Sagmanwelmegudets èliwiziyn.
2. Ketepeltemwaghen petzussewetch.
3. Keteleltemwaghen uli tsiksetagudets yuttel ktahkemigook tahalo te spemkik.
4. Miline tekètch bemghiskak etaskiskwè n'tapanemen,
5. Te anehèltemohuyeku n'twabellokewaghenenuul tahalo nilon èli aneheltemohuyeku 'ewabellokedjik.
6. Te ekkwi losseline unemiotwaghenek.
7. Wedji ghighihine tannik mèdzikkil.

Nialetch.

7. ABNAKI.

PASSAMAQUODDY.

Vetromile, 578, as "pure Abnaki," from "an ancient manuscript." "Every vowel marked with an accent has a nasal sound." The dialect does not differ materially from that of the preceding version, though the writers did not agree in their phonetic notation.

Nemitòksena spemkik aïian :

1. Sògmòwalmeguadich aliwisian.
2. Ketebaldamwògan paidmwich.
3. Kalaldamwògan likitòguadich tali kik tahòlawi tali spemkik.
4. Nòmìlina¹ nikuòbi pamgiskak nedattosgiskuè abònmena.
5. Ta anahaldamawina nebalalòkawògaunenewal tahòlawi niuna ali anahaldamawòak palikadòguagik.
6. Ta akui losalina wenemihoduòganek.
7. Weji kaduinahadaki tèni majigek.

Nialach.

¹ Misprinted, for *Mòmìlina*?

8. A B N A K I.

PENOBSCOT.

Rev. Edmond Demilier, in *Annales de la Propagation de la Foi*, vol. viii., p. 197 (Nov. 1835), where it is printed without punctuation, capitals, or division by petitions. It is full of errors, which I have not attempted to correct, except by interlining the same version nearly, in a different orthography, from Vetromile's *Good Book*, p. 19.

Kemitanksenâ spomkik ayan :

K'mitanqsenâ spomkik eyan :

1. Waiwaiselmoquatch ayiliwisian.
Weweselmoquatch eliwisian.
2. Amantai paitriwai witawaikai ketepéltamohaogeneck.
Amànte neghè petsiwevitawekpane ketepeltamohanganèck.
3. Aylikitankouak ketelaitamohangan spomkik tali yo
Eli kiktanguak ket'letamohangan spomkik tali yo
nampikik paitchi kiktankouataitche.
nampikik petchikiktanguatetche.
4. Mamilinai yo paimi ghisgak daitaskiskouai aipoumena.
Mamiline yo pemighisgâk ètaskikué n'tapònmènâ.
5. Yopa hatchi anaihaitama wihaikai kaissikakau wihiolai-
Yopâhatchi aneheldamawihèk kessi kakanwihiole-
kaipan aliniona kisi anaihaitamakokaik kaikauwia
k'pan, èli nyona kisi aneheldamahokèt kekanwia-
kaitaipanik.
k'tepanik.
6. Mosak kaita litchi kitawikaik tampamohoutchi saghihou-
Mosak ketali tchikiktawighèk tamambâutchi saghihun-
neminamai.
mihinam'ke.
7. Oulahamistakai saghihousouaminai mamaitchikill.
Ulamist'kè saghehusuhaminè mematchikil.
Nialest.
Nialestch.

Father Demilier came to America in 1833, and was stationed at Pleasant Point (Perry, Me.), on the west side of Passamaquoddy Bay. His letter printed in the *Annales* (l. c.) was written in the spring of 1834, less than a year after his arrival and certainly before he had made great progress in learning the language. The form of prayer, he writes, "is such as is said daily" at the mission, for though the Indians

of Pleasant Point are of the Passamaquoddy tribe, "the Penobscot dialect is, there, what the Latin is in France, the consecrated language." His predecessor, the Rev. Mr. Romagné (who returned to France in 1825) left a little book of prayers, in manuscript, and this was printed for the use of the mission early in 1834. From it, probably, Demilier took this version; but he complains that the book was full of errors, and that he "had to undertake a new work, going through all the prayers with the Indians, to compare and correct them."

A small volume of prayers, in manuscript, which may have been Romagné's, but probably is of earlier date, is now in the library of Mr. Brinley, of Hartford. It was formerly in the possession of Bishop Cheverus, by whom it was presented to Dr. John Pickering. It contains "*Prière du matin, en Marichit*" (Milicite), "*Prière du soir, en Caniba*," "*Catechisme*," &c. The Milicite version (4b) of the Pater-noster agrees, for the most part, with Vetromile's "pure Mareschit," but has *r* in place of *l*, &c. The Canniba version, which corresponds to the Penobscot (v. 8) of Demilier and Vetromile, will be found on the next page (v. 9b).

9. ABNAKI.

CANNIBA.

From a MS. volume of *Prières des Sauvages Abnakis de St. François*; in the library of Geo. Brinley, Esq.

Nemittaⁿgoosena spemkik eïan :

1. Saⁿghamaⁿ coermegcoatets eriooisian.
2. Amanté negai petsi coecoittaoeghesa keteberdamooangan.
3. [*Ari kiktangwak keterérdamooⁿgan*] spemkik dari io nanbi kik petsi kiktongoats.
4. Mammiriné io pemkiskak ettassekiskcoe abannemena.
5. Ioba atsi anaherdamanwoiéghé ghegancoihcoeregheban, eri niconá anaherdamanked ghegancoihiakedebanik.
6. Moosak dari tsighittaoikke taumanppa ootsi seoghi ari-toangonik.
7. Oronmistaki saghecosooⁿminé mématsighik.

Ni-arets.

This version is nearly the same which Vetromile and Demilier give for the modern Penobscot, but the dialect is

that of the "Cannibas" or Kennebec-Abnakis, among whom Rasles labored and compiled his dictionary. The MS. volume from which it is taken formerly belonged to Dr. Pickering, to whom it was given by Bishop Cheverus. From the general accordance of its phonography with that of Rasles, I infer that it is a copy of a manual prepared by that missionary. It was written, probably, before the middle of the last century. After Rasles' death about 150 of his Norridgewock Indians removed from the Kennebec to St. Francis, on the St. Lawrence, and others of the tribe were scattered among different Abnaki bands in Maine.

In transcribing, I have substituted ⁿ (superior) for the ñ which is used by the writer (as it was by Rasles) to mark a nasalized vowel; ∞ for his 8; and I have supplied three words omitted from the third petition. The Norridgewock Indians used *r* for the Penobscot *l*, and *ts* for the stronger *tch* and *ch* of the eastern tribes, as in *ni-alets* ('so be it') for Penobscot *ni-aletch*; but among the St. Francis band, the Penobscot dialect has prevailed. According to Vetromile (*Good Book*, 268) "the Passamaquoddy tribe at present recite the Lord's Prayer &c. in Canniba language, yet a great many of them say the same in pure Passamaquoddy language."

I insert here, the form from "Prière du soir en Caniba," in another MS. volume (mentioned on the preceding page). It is the same which Demilier and Vetromile give in the Penobscot dialect, except in the 6th and 7th petitions.

9b. CANNIBA.*

Quemitangousna spomquic eyane:

1. Uenersermougouadge eriuissiane.
2. Amantai naigai paichi ueuitauegsa quetepertamoanganeque.
3. Eriquetongouac quetererdamoangane spomquic taré na-beiquic paichi quitarougouadge.
4. Mamirinaï yopaimquisca etasquisquoi abanemena.
5. Yobachi anerdama arouyecai, caicanui oraigbane eriniona quisi anerdama uocout caicanuyo quetepanai.
6. Mosak tari chiguitaicaig tamanpachei saguei aritoanganic.
7. Oranmistoqui saguaiusoanminai machigquic.

Niarets.

* The writer uses the French *qu* for *k*, and his final *e* (as in *eyane*) is mute, unless accented.

In the following notes I principally rely on Rasles's Dictionary (R.), with occasional references to Vetromile's *Good Book* (Vetr.), and to a little volume* prepared for the St. Francis Indians by Peter Paul Ozunkherhine or *Wzokhilain* (Wzk.), a native Abnaki, educated in Moor's Indian School, Hanover, N. H., who maintained a mission-school at St. Francis from 1830 to 1858. Ozunkherhine spoke and wrote English with ease and accuracy, was a man of more than ordinary intelligence, and — living among and writing for his own people — his authority is of the highest, on all that concerns the western-Abnaki dialect.

'Our-Father on-high who-there-dwellest.' *Nemi'taⁿgaws* (R.), *n'mitogues* (Wzk.) 'my father': comp. *nadaⁿgaw* 'my son-in-law,' *n'nadaⁿgaws* 'my cousin' (R.) and Narrag. *na-tónks* 'my cousin'; Mass. *adtonkqs* 'kinsman,' *togquos* 'a twin' (El.); Chip. *nidangoshe* 'my female cousin' (Bar.). In vv. 6, 7, and 9, the affixes are those of the 1st person *exclusive* plural, but in v. 8 (Demilier's or Romagné's, and Vetromile's) the form is that of the *inclusive* plural, and the Deity is addressed, not as 'Father of us all' but as 'Father of thyself and us': *Kemitaⁿgawséna* means 'Our and your Father,' a proper expression when God is spoken of, but a very improper one in addressing prayer to him. We shall find the same mistake in other versions. *Spemkik* 'on high'; *spemek* 'high' (R.); Chip. *ishpiming*, Moh. *spummuck* (v. 13), Shawn. *spimmiki* (v. 34): *spukgiskaw ta ki* 'heaven and earth' (Wzk. in Ex. xx. 11): Rasles has *kizawkaw* for 'heaven.' *Eian, eyan, ehine*, 'thou who art (dwellest) there'; see p. 114.

1. Let it be greatly-esteemed thy-name.' *Saⁿghamaⁿwæ*, from *saⁿgmaⁿ* 'chief, captain'; *ne-saⁿgmaⁿwérmaⁿ* 'I regard him as chief,' or 'esteem him highly'; with an inan. object, *saⁿgmaⁿwérmegooat* 'it is regarded as chief' or 'esteemed high.' In v. 8, a different verb is used, *weweselmoguatch* 'let it be greatly distinguished,' literally, 'embellished' or 'honorably decorated'; *ne-wééwéssihaⁿ* 'I embellish him greatly' (R.); with inan. object, *wawasitokaw* 'he blessed it,' and

* *Wawasi Lagidamwoganeek* &c. [Holy Laws, Ten Commandments, with Explanations, for Christian Instruction.] P. P. Wzokhilain. (Boston, 1830.)

wawasi 'holy, hallowed' (Wzk.), *awewessi* 'blessed' (MS.). *Eriwisian*, *eliwiziyn*, *ayiliwisian*, 2d pers. sing. conditional (participle) of *ariwisw* 'he is called' (R.), lit. 'thy so-calling' or 'as thou art called.'

2. *Amanté* "plût à Dieu" (R.), 'would that,' Lat. *utinam*. *Negai* is omitted in vv. 6, 7, and by Demilier in v. 8, where Vetromile inserts *neghè*, which seems to be *naighé* of Rasles, 'when, at that time': but Rasles has also *néga* and *nekka*, 'there, in that place.' *Keteberdamwangan* 'thy government,' a verbal from *ne'teberdam* 'I govern' (R.). In v. 8, this verbal has the locative suffix, and the meaning aimed at perhaps was: 'May we be with thee in thy kingdom.' In vers. 7, only, we have a correct form of the verb, *païomwich* (Mass. *peyaumwutch*, v. 10) 'let it come.' In Algonkin grammar an *inanimate* object cannot properly be made the subject of an *active* verb, but is always regarded as *acted upon*, the verb taking a quasi passive form. In the eastern dialects, *m*, in the formative, is a characteristic of these "personifying" verbs: e. g. Mass. *peyau* 'he comes,' *peyaumoo* 'it comes,' i. e. 'is caused to come'; so, *peyaumwutch*, imperat. 3d sing. 'let it come'; and in the Abnaki we have the corresponding forms used by Rasles, *iw abo'n* 'he comes here,' *baia'moïw* 'it comes,' and more accurately by Ozunkherhine, *paio't* (*payont*, El.) 'when he comes,' *paio'mmik* 'when it comes,' *paiawi* 'he comes,' *paio'mw* 'it comes,' &c.* *Petzussewitch* (v. 6) is from a verb meaning 'to approach,' 'to come (or be brought) near' (*péssowdossé* 'approach thou,' *péssowtsiwi* 'near,' R.); but it denotes approximation in *space*, not in *time*, and is wrongly used in such expressions as *etodji pet-zossewik* "when the time arrives," as in the Passamaquoddy Catechism (Vetr. 347).

3. 'So-as they-obey thy-will on-high there so on-earth let-it-be-obeyed': in vers. 6, 7, "Thy-will so let-it-be-done this world (great-land) -in as-there on-high": in v. 8, "As they-

* In the Chippeway, there are two forms of these verbs — which Baraga terms "personifying," because "they serve to represent an inanimate thing as doing the action of an animate being," — one ending in *magad*, the other in *on*. — *Otch. Gram.* 85, 409.

obey thy-will on-high, so here likewise on earth let-it-be-obeyed." In v. 9, I have supplied [in brackets] the words omitted by the transcriber. *Ket'erérdamōaⁿgan*, a verbal from *ned'erérdam* 'I think, will, purpose' (R.); Mass. *unantamōonk*; see note on v. 10; but the meaning of the petition would have been better expressed by using the verb in the conditional; *ali wlaldama* 'as I will,' i. e. 'my will,' *ali wlaldak* 'as he will,' 'his will' (Wzk. in John, vi. 38); comp. Chip. *enendaman* (vv. 27, 28). *Ne-kiktam* 'I obey' (R.). *Nanbi* (*naⁿbi*, R.; *nampi*, v. 8) 'so,' = Mass. *nompe* 'in turn,' 'again.'

4. 'Give-us this day-in daily bread': in v. 8, 'Give-us this day-in daily our bread.' *Ne-míraⁿ* 'give it to him,'—but the verb *ned-as'amaⁿ* 'I give (it) him to eat' (comp. Mass. *assamainnean*, v. 10) would more exactly express the meaning of the petition: the forms *ma-miriné*, *mamiriné* (v. 8) have the frequentative reduplication. *Pemkiskak*, *bemghiskak*, *pemi-ghisgák*, 'through (or, during) the day': *etassekiskwē* (*etaskiskwē*, *etaskiskué*, vv. 6, 8) 'of every day,' 'daily'; *é'tassi* 'always, without ceasing' (R.). *Abanmemen* 'bread,' 'baked corn': *abaⁿ* 'bread' (R.) is, literally, that which is 'baked'; *-men* is the generic name for 'corn,' 'grain' (and for every description of 'small fruit'), pl. *-menar*: e. g. *nōkhámen* 'sifted corn' (flour); *n'tapōnmenā* (v. 8) 'our baked corn': Narrag. *aupūmmine-anash* (plur.), Mass. *appūminné-onash* "parched corn" (R. W. & El. in 1 Sam. xvii. 17).

5. "And-besides so forgive-us when-we-have-offended-thee as we forgive those-who-offend-us"; and so in v. 8: in vv. 6, 7, "And forgive-us our-offences (?) as we so forgive-them who - offend - us." *Gheganwiharegheban* (*kakanwiholek'pan*, Vetr.) is from *ne-gagaⁿwihaⁿ* 'I offend in act' (R.). In v. 8, this verb is preceded by the sign of the past tense, or rather, of completed action, *kisi* (and conditional, *kèsi*).

6. In vv. 6, 7, 'And do-not lead-us into-trouble.' *Te, ta*, = *tai*, R., a conjunction. *Akui*, *ekkwi*, = *é'kwi*, "cessationem significat" (R.), 'refrain from,' 'do not'; Mass. *ahque* (El.), see v. 10. *Moosak* (vv. 8, 9) is *prohibitive*, not merely deprecativ: it is appropriately used in the command-

ments (*mosak komotuekan* "thou shalt not steal," Vetr. 295), but it is out of place in prayer. *Losseline*, imperat. 2~1 pers.; *Canniba ned'eroossara*ⁿ 'I lead or conduct him' (R.).

10. MASSACHUSETTS.

From Eliot's version of the Bible (2d edition, 1685), Matt. vi. 9-13. The vowels nearly as in English; *o* like *oo* in *moon*; a vowel followed by *h* is *short*; *ah* varies between *a* in *add* and *a* in *what*.

Nooshun kesukqut:

1. Quttiauatamunach koowesuonk.
2. Peyaumoutch kukketassootamóonk.
3. Kuttentanamóonk ne n naeh ohkeït neäne kesukqut.¹
4. Nummeetsuöngash aseksukokish assamaiñnean yeuyu kesukok.²
5. Kah ahquoäntamaiñnean nummatcheseongash, neane matchenehukqueagig nutahquontamóunnong.³
6. Ahque sagkompaginaiñnean en qutehhuaonganit.⁴
7. Webe pohquohwussinnean wutch matchitut.
8. Newutche kutahtauun ketassootamóonk, kah menuhkesuonk, kah sohsumóonk, micheme.

Amen.

Variations in Luke xi. 2-4:

- ¹ . . . ne naj, neyane kesukqut kah ohkeït.
- ² Assamaiñnean kokokesukodae nutase[ke]sukokke petukqunneg.
- ³ . . . nummateheseonganonash newutche nenawun wonk nutahquontamóunnong.
- ⁴ Kah ahque sagkompaginnean en qutehchettuonganit, qut

The language of Eliot's version was that of the tribes about Massachusetts Bay and, generally, of southern New England, near the coast. It was spoken, with some differences of dialect which cannot now be accurately indicated, by the Wampanoags of Plymouth colony, the Narragansets and Niantics, the islanders of Nope (Martha's Vineyard), the Montauks, &c. In 1658, Eliot was questioned by the Commissioners of the United Colonies, "whether the translation he had made was generally understood? to which I answered"—he writes—"that upon my knowledge it was understood as far as Connecticut; for there I did read some part of my translation before many hundred English witnesses, and the Indians manifested that they did understand what I read, perfectly, in respect of the language." The

peculiarities of the Quiripi dialect, spoken west of Connecticut river near the Sound, were more clearly marked (see, after, vers. 15): and the Pequot-Mohegan (Muhhekaneew) of southeastern Connecticut, belongs to another group, characterized not merely by its harsher and more frequent gutturals but by differences of inflection and transition forms.

In the Micmac, Abnaki, Delaware, and some other eastern-Algonkin dialects, inanimate nouns form their plurals in *l* or *r*, preceded by a short vowel; in the Mohegan (as in the Chippeway, &c.) these plurals end in *n*; in the northern Cree and some western languages, in *ǎ*; only in southern New England, in *ash* or *sh*. The *animate* plural in all pure Algonkin languages ends in *k* or *g*, or in *k* followed by a short vowel. Thus, —

Abn. (Caniba)	<i>sípu</i> ‘river,’ pl. <i>sípuar</i> .	
(Penobs.)	<i>sípi</i> ,	<i>sípial</i> .
Del.	<i>sípo</i> ,	<i>sípōal</i> .
Chip.	<i>síbi</i> ,	<i>síbiwun</i> .
Cree,	<i>sípi</i> ,	<i>sípīa</i> .
Illin.	<i>sípiwi</i> ,	<i>sípiwa</i> .
Mass.	<i>sípu</i> , <i>síp</i> ,	<i>sípuāsh</i> (<i>sepuash</i> , El.).

Assun ‘a stone’ is *inanimate* in most Algonkin languages, but by the Crees and Chippeways is classed with *animate* nouns: Del. *axsin*, pl. *axsinal*; Illin. *asseni*, pl. *assena*; Mass. *assun*, pl. *assunash*; Cree *ussin*, pl. *ussineük*; Chip. *assin*, pl. *assinig*.

Nosh ‘my father,’ *nosh-un* ‘our father’: the root, *wch*, means ‘from,’ ‘out of’ (see *ũch*, v. 1): *nosh* expresses, primarily, not *paternal* but *filial* relation — ‘I come from him,’ *wshoh* ‘he comes from him,’ or, with transposition of subject and object, ‘he *froms* him’: comp., in Eliot’s version, *neen noochai wohkumaiieu* “I am from above” (John viii. 23); *waban wotshoh toh* &c. “the wind bloweth [i. e. *comes from*] where” &c.; *ne . . . wotche-un mittamwossissoh* “that [*from*] made he a woman,” Gen. ii. 22. *Kesukqut* ‘in the sky’: *kesuk*, in Mass. dialect, is (1) the visible heavens, the sky, (2) the day; in some Algonkin dialects (and perhaps

originally) a name of the Sun, Moh. *kēsogh*, Chip. *gizis*, Abn. *kizos*, Narr. *keesuckquand* [i. e. *kēsukq-m'anit*] "the Sun-god" (R. W.). The form *kesuk* points to a primary verb *kēsīn* or *kussin*, from which we find, in the several Algonkin languages, three groups of derivatives, with the meanings, respectively, 'to warm'; 'to ripen, or mature'; and 'to finish, or perfect': *kezheau* "he creates" (Eliot in Gen. i. 27, v. 1, &c.) is one of these derivatives; comp. Abn. *ne-kisiha* "I finish or perfect him," &c. Eliot prudently followed the Greek in the omission of the verb, — 'Our Father in heaven.'

1. 'Be-it-honored thy-name.' The verb is in the imperat. 3d sing. from *quttianum* 'he honors it,' primarily, 'he bends to it'; a derivative from *quttaëu* 'he sinks down,' 'lowers himself,' — whence also *m'kuttuk* 'the knee' and *quttunk* 'throat,' i. e. 'down-going.' *Wesuonk* 'naming,' primar. 'calling,' 'saying'; related to, if not immediately formed from, *wussin* 'he says': comp. *kutissowesu* 'thou art called,' *ne kawesuonk* 'that [is] thy name,' Gen. xxxv. 10.

2. 'Let-it-come-hither thy-great-rulership.' *Pēyau* 'he comes'; with inan. subject, *pēyau-mō* 'it comes,' and impt. 3d pers. *peyaumowutch*. *Ketassōtimōonk* 'chief-rulership' or 'dominion'; verbal from *ketassōtam* 'he is chief ruler' or 'great lord,' from *kehte* 'principal, chief,' and *sōtim* (*sōtam*, R. W.) 'master,' 'lord.'

3. 'Thy-thinking (purpose, will,) be-it-so.' *Kuttenantamōonk*, an active verbal, with 2d pers. pronom. prefix, from *unantam* 'he thinks,' 'purposes,' 'is so-minded.' In eastern Algonkin languages, verbs in *-antam* (Del. *-endam*, Abn. *-erdam*) "express a disposition, situation, or operation of the mind" (Zeisberger's Del. Gram. 89): verbal, *unantamōonk* 'thinking,' 'willing' &c. Deut. xv. 9, Job xlii. 2. *Ne natch*, *ne naj*, 'be it so,' 3d sing. imper. of *n'niḥ* [*unnī*] 'it is so'; used for 'Amen' in the Abnaki vv. 6, 7, 8 (*nialetch*, *nialach*) and Quiripi (*ne ratch*) v. 15; so, Narr. *énatch* *neen-anowa* "let my word stand" (be so), R. W.

'On-earth so-as in-the-heavens.' *Ohki* [*auk'i*] 'ground, land, place, country, earth,' has here the locative postposition for 'in' or 'ou': and so, *kesukq-ut* (as in the invocation) *Neane* 'so as,' 'such as,' for *ne unne* 'of this kind.'

4. 'My-victuals (*lit.* 'my eatings') in-daily-course give-me this day.' From the primary *meech-u* (*mítchu*) 'he eats' is formed the act. intrans. *meetsu* (contr. for *meech-esu*), and the verbal *meetsuonk*, plur. *meetsuongash* 'eatings,' and with *n'* prefixed, 'my eatings.' For the *double* plural, 'our eatings,' two additional syllables are required, — giving the termination *-onganonash*. A similar omission was made in the next petition, in *nummatcheseongash* 'my (for *our*) evil-doings,' — which Eliot corrects in Luke xi. 4.

Áse-kēsukok-ish 'every day'; the prefix and suffix are distributive, giving the meaning of 'each in its turn,' 'one after the other, in course'; so, *áse-nompók-ish*, Exod. xxx. 7, 'morning by morning': comp. Abn. *éhéssokke* 'turn by turn' (= Mass. *ósekóeu*, El.).

Assama-innean, imperat. 2 s. ~ 1 pl. of *assamaü* 'he feeds,' 'gives to eat'; *assamé* 'give me to eat.' *Yeuyeu*, an emphatic demonstrative, from *yeu* (Abn. *iow*) 'this'; 'this here,' Fr. *ceci*. *Kesukok* 'while it is day' or 'during the day,' the conditional form of *kesuk*.

In Luke xi. 3, we have *kokokesukodaé* (in the first two syllables of which there is probably a misprint) and *nutasesukokke* [mispr. for *nutasekesukokke*] *petukqunneg* 'my daily bread.' Peirson's Quiripi version has both *no-meetsounk* and *petúkkenêag*. The latter is from *petukki* (*petukqui*, El.; Abn. *petegwi*) 'round'; *petukqunneg* 'round thing,' and so 'a loaf of bread': Narr. *puttuckqunnége* "a cake" (R. W.). In the Mohegan, 'tquogh' (Edw.); the Virginia 'tuckahoe.'

5. "And do-not-bear-in-mind [against]-us *my* [by mistake for *our*]-evil-doings.' *Ka* (Montagn., Alg. and Chip. *gaie*, Conn. and Quirip. *quah*) used as a copulative. In Chippewa, *gaie*, like Latin *que*, usually follows the latter of the two words it connects. *Ahquoantam*, from *ahque* 'do not,' 'refrain from,' and *-antam*, the formative of verbs of *thinking* &c. (see pet. 3): with direct inanimate and remote animate objects (accusative and dative), *ahquoantamaü* 'he does-not-think-of (it) to or against (him); it is here in the imperative, 2 s. 1 pl. 'thou . . . to us.' *N'matcheseong-[anon]ash* 'our evil doings'; from primary *match-i* 'bad,'

and adverbially, 'badly' (Abn. *matsi*, Chip. *matchi*, Cree *matsi*, *mutche*, &c.); *match-etou* 'he is bad' inherently or by nature, *matchesu* 'he does (is actively) bad,' whence the verbals *matchetuonk* 'badness (of heart or purpose)' and *matcheseonk* 'evil-doing,' pl. *-ongash*.

'So-as those-who-do-evil-to-us we-do-not-bear-in-mind.' *Neane*, see 3d petition. *Match-enehheai* 'he does evil to,' causat. animate form, from *matchi*; conditional ptepl. *matchenehuk* 'he who does evil to,' double pl. *-kqueagig* 'they who . . . to us. *Ahquontam-aii* (= *ahquwantamaii*), here takes the transition of 1 pl.~3 pl. indic. present, 'we . . . to them.'

6. 'Do-not lead-us into trial.' *Ahque*, termed by Eliot (Gr. 21) an "adverb of forbidding," is used chiefly with the imperative in prohibitions, and corresponds nearly to Gr. *οὐ μὴ*, or Fr. *ne . . . pas*, though its primary meaning is 'to leave off,' 'to desist.' Abn. *é'kwi* "cessationem significat" (Rasles), Narr. *aguié* "leave off, do not" (R. W.), Moh. *uhquae*, Cree *egá*, *ithka*, Chip. *kego*, &c. Comp. *ahque natwontamok* "take ye no thought," Eliot in Matt. x. 19.

Sagkompan-aii 'he leads (him)': comp. Is. xl. 11, and Matt. xv. 14. From the same primary as Del. *sagkimaui* 'he is a chief' and the Indian-English 'sagamore.' See version 4 (petition 1), *sangmanwi*. The correct form of the transition imperative, 2 s.~1 pl., is *sagkompaginnean*, as in Luke xi. 4. *En* is classed by Eliot (Gr. 22) with "conjunctions of place," meaning "in, at, or to"; here, with locative suffix of the following verbal (*-it*), it gives the meaning of 'into.' *Qutchhuaonk* 'a trying,' or 'making trial of,' — the *active* used by mistake for the *passive* verbal *qutchehetuonk* 'a being-made-trial of,' which is found in the corresponding petition in Luke xi. 4: with its primary verb *quthum* (contr. for *quttuhhum* 'he measures, weighs, tries') comp. Abn. *ne-kwatadmen* "je goûte, pour voir s'il est bon, *ne-kwotsiton* "j'essaie, j'éprouve," (R.), Chip. *nin-gatchibia* 'I tempt him,' *nin-gotjiew* 'I try,' *nin-gotama* 'I taste it' (Bar.).

7. 'But deliver-thou-us from what-is-bad.' *Webe*, *wepe*, is used for 'but,' only in the Mass., Conn., and Quirip. versions. Its true meaning seems to be 'only,' 'solely,' corresponding

to Abnaki *wibiwí*: comp. *matta ne webe* 'not that only,' "not only so," Rom. v. 3, *webe woh ke-nupmun* "we can but [only] die," 2 Kings, vii. 4. Roger Williams uses it, in the Narraganset dialect, to emphasize the pronoun of the subject of a verb, as in *wepe kuk-kúmmoot* "you [*tu autem*] have stole." In Luke xi. 4, Eliot for *webe* substitutes *qut*, "a conjunction discretive, *but*." (Gr. 22.)

Pohquohwussu 'he delivers,' 'is a deliver,' act. intrans.: *pohquohwussu-aen*, nomen agentis, 'a deliverer,' as in title of New Testament, with pronom. affixes, *nup'poquohwussuaen-eumun* 'our Savior.' The primary, *pohqui*, means 'it is open,' 'clear': hence, *pohquohham* 'he goes clear,' 'escapes,' &c.: comp. Chip. *nin-pákakonan* 'I open,' *pakakossin* 'it opens,' *nin-pákinan* 'I open it' (Abn. *ne-pekahá*). *Wutch* 'from, out of.' See notes on *nooshun* (p. 141), *úchiek*, v. 1, and *wedji*, vv. 6, 7.

8. 'Because to-thee-it-belongs chief-rulership, the strong-doing, and forth-shining, forever.' *Ne-wutche* 'this from,' or, 'because of.' *Kut-ahtau-un*, from *ohtau* 'he has, possesses' (it); *ohtau-un* 'it is had, possessed, belongs to'; here, with prefix of 2 sing. 'to thee it belongs.' *Menuhkesu-onk*, verbal from *menuhkesu*, act. intrans. 'he is strong, a strong-doer,' from *menuhki* 'strong,' primarily, 'hard,' 'firm': Micm. *melki* (and *menaké* "pressé," Maill.), Abn. *ne-merkasaní* "je me sers de force" (Rasles). *Sohsumóonk* 'forth-shining,' a verbal from *sohsumaw* 'it shines forth' (Chip. *wasseiasí* "he shines, is resplendent," *wasseiasíwin* 'light, splendor, brightness'): here, and throughout his version, Eliot uses this verbal for 'glory.' *Michéme*, "for ever," "everlasting" &c., by Eliot; *ne micheme ohtag* "that which is forever," "eternal," Psal. cxlv. 13, Rom. i. 20. So, in the Conn. and Quirip. versions; Narr. "forever" (R. W.), Abn. *metsimíwí* 'always,' Micm. *mech* "d'avantage, encore, de plus" (Maill.), Chip. *mojag*, *monjag*, 'always, perpetually' (Bar.). The root is, apparently, *mishe*, *missi*, 'great, much,' and the primary meaning, 'a great while.'

11. CONNECTICUT.

NIANTIC ?

Rev. Experience Mayhew, MS. 1721; written "by the help of an interpreter," in "the dialect of the [so-called] Pequot Indians."

Nooshun onkkouwe kesukuk :

1. Weyetuppata^m eyage kowesoonk.
2. Kukkuttassootumoonk peâmoo^tutch.
3. Koowekontamoonk eyage yeutai okee oiohktai onkkouwe kesukkuk.
4. Mesunnan eyeu kesukohk asekesukohkish nupputtukqun-nekonun.
5. Quali ohquantamiunnan nummattompauwonkanunonash nânuk oi ohquantamouog kehchapunniqueoguk.
6. Quah ahque eassunnan michemwetoonkanuk.
7. Wepe pohquassunnan wutche matchetuk.
8. Newutche kuttihe kuttassootamoonk, mekekoonk, quali kunnontiatamoonk, micheme quali micheme. Amen.

In the letter* from which this is copied, Mr. Mayhew writes that when he visited the Indians of Connecticut, a few years before 1721, he found "so much difference betwixt their language and that used on Martha's Vineyard that he could not well understand their discourses" or be understood by them without an interpreter: he adds, however: "I thought the difference was not so great but that I could have attained to speak intelligibly in their dialect if I had continued there a few months"; though "these differ more from the Natick Indians [in whose dialect Eliot wrote] than those of the Vineyard do." The version he gives — made by himself with the help of an interpreter — certainly is not *Pequot*, i. e. Mohegan, but is probably in the dialect of the *Niantics*, Indians of the coast between Connecticut River and Point Judith, R. I. The Niantics near New London occupied the tracts reserved for, and were mingled with, the Pequots, of whom few — perhaps none of pure blood — survived to 1721. One of the peculiarities of this version is the substitution of *y* for (Mass.) *n*, in *wunne*, *enaj*, &c., here written *weye*, *eyage*: see notes on the first petition. The locative affix is *-uk* (*kesukuk* for Mass. *kesukqut*) or *-tai* (*yeu-tai* for Mass. *yeu-ut*).

* In the collection of J. Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston.

For Eliot's *kesukqut* 'in coelis,' Mayhew has *onkkouwe kesukuk* 'beyond the sky.' In the first petition, *weyetuppatam* stands for Mass. *wunnetupantam* 'it is holy,' — seldom used by Eliot, though he has the adjective *wunneetupanatumwe* for 'holy' on the title-page of his version of the Bible, other forms in Mark vi. 20, Acts xiv. 43, &c., and its opposite, *matchetu-panatam* 'profaned,' Ezek. xxii. 26. The change from *wunne* to *wé'ye* corresponds to that of Mass. *anúm* 'dog' to *ayím* in the Narraganset dialect, noted by R. Williams, *Key*, 107. In the Quiripi (v. 15) Peirson has *werrettepanatam*. *Eyage*, pron. *e-yaj*, is Mass. *ne nāj*, Narr. *enátch* 'be it so,' Quir. *neratch*, Abn. *ni-aletch*; see v. 10, pet. 3, and comp. Micm. *n'deliatsch*, v. 2. The termination in *-aj*, "as the English word *age* soundeth," was, Eliot states, "a regular sound in the 3d pers. sing. imperative mode of verbs."

3. *K'wekontam-wonk* 'thy pleasure': verbal from *wekontam* 'he is pleasant-minded,' glad; Abn. *wiga'dam*, Del. *wingilendam* 'I am pleased with it' (Zeisb.): from *wekon* 'sweet, pleasant to the taste,' with the formative *-ntam* of verbs expressing mental action, &c. *Yeutai*, Mass. *yeu-ut*, 'in this' (place), herein: comp. Abn. vers. 6, *yuttel*, and *iw-tè* (Râle). Montagn. *u-te*, Cree, *o-tè* 'here.' *Okee*; Narr. *auké*, Mass. *ohke*, 'earth'; comp. vers. 10. *Oiohktai* is of questionable shape; its place in the clause requires the meaning of 'as in.'

4. *Mesunnan* 'give us': comp. Quir. *mèsonah* (vers. 13): from a verb, not used by Eliot, — corresponding, perhaps, to Chip. *nin mijiwe* 'I give him.' *Eyeu kesukohk* 'this day,' = Mass. *yeu[yeu] kesukok*. *Nup-puttukqunnek-onun* 'our bread,' from *puttukqunneg* 'bread,' lit. 'something round'; see note on vers. 10 (pet. 4).

5. 'And refrain-from-thinking-[against-]us our-enmities (hostilities), like-as we may refrain-from-thinking-of those-who-hurt-us (?)'. *Quah* = *kah* (El.), Narr. *kà* (R. W.), Chip. *gaie*. *Ohquantamiunnan* = *ahquoantamaiinnean*, v. 10. *Mattompauwonk*, verbal from *mattompau* 'he makes war on,' 'is an enemy,' — primarily, 'is a bad man'? hence, condit. *mattompog* (El.) as a noun, 'war,' = Abn. *mattanbekw*; Del. *machtapeek* "bad time, war time" (Zeisb.) *Nâruk* = *ne-aurak* (El.) 'according to,' 'after the same manner as.'

Ohquantamouog, 1st ~ 3d pl. conditional, ‘when we (or, we may) refrain from thinking of them.’

6. ‘And do-not lead-us temptation-into’? Neither of the two principal words is found in Eliot, but *michenuwetwoonkanuk* corresponds to Peirson’s (Quirip.) *mitchemôuretouk*, which he translates “temptation.” It certainly cannot have that meaning.

8. *Kuttihe* ‘thine is’; *kuttaihe*, El.: but when the subject follows the verb, *ku’ahtau-un* ‘belongs to thee,’ as in Mass. version, is the better form.

12. CONNECTICUT.

PEQUOT—MOHEGAN?

“The Lord’s prayer in the language of the Mohegan and Pequot Indians living in the colony of Connecticut, procured by the Hon. Gov. Saltonstall, at New London, February, 1721”; with interlinear translation; printed in Morse’s Report on the Indian Tribes &c. (1824; p. 54). It is worth preserving, if only to show how a text may be corrupted by bad spelling, wrong division of words, careless transcription, and mistakes of the printer. I have interlined what *may* have been the reading of the original MS., so far as the printed copy affords any clue to it.

Co shunōngone ĩhe suck cuck ābot:

Noshun ôngoue chesuckcuck ābet:

1. Na naw ūi e coom shāw ims nūkspe coūe so wūnk
Nanawūietoomshawi coūesowunk.
2. Kuck sūdamong — peamōoch
Kuck’sūdamong peamōutch.
3. Ecōok aiotōomomon ūkkee tawti èè òok ungow a
Etook aioōtoomon ūkkee tawti èēiōk ungowa
gēescuck
gēēsuckcuck.
4. Meē se nam Eycu kēe suck askēsuck mȳsput eo honēgan
Mēēsenan cyeu kēēsuck askēsuck nupputtokonēgan.
5. Ah quon to mi nun namat to òmp pa wōn ganunksh nō
Ahquontominun nummattoōmpawonganunksh ne
awe āh goon to mi nad macha chook qoe a guck,
aune ahquontomina matcharhookqueoguck.
6. Ah grecad macon jussūon mattum paw oon ganuck
Ahque mattumpawoonganuck.
7. Puk kqūcaw-hus nāwn woochet matchetook
Pukkquēawhus neawn woochet matchetook.
8. Kee kucks sūdamong cumme ekē go wonk ah hōont
Keekucksūdamong cumme’ekēgowonk

seek coomsakō oh woonk, mackēeme machēemo Eeats.
 . . . coomsakōohwoonk, machēēme, machēēme. Eēts.

As translated:

"Father ours above in heaven: ¹ Admired in highest manner be thy name.
² Thy-powerful-kingdom let-it-come. ³ Like done thy will in earth as like in
 heaven. ⁴ Give us this day and every day (daily) bread. ⁵ Let us be forgiven
 evil doings of ours, we would forgive wrong doers to us. ⁶ Not guide us into
 snares, but help us to escape from evil. ⁷ Thine thy [the?] powerful kingdom,
 thine the strength, thine the greatest splendor, always, always, Me-wish-so."

13. MOHEGAN,

OF STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

From Edwards's *Observations*, 1788,* pp. 9, 10.

Noghnuh, ne spummuck oieon,

1. taugh mauweh wneh wtukoseauk neanne annuwoieon.
2. Taugh ne aunchuwutammun wawehtuseek maweh noh
 pummeh.
3. Ne annoihitteech mauweh awauneek noh hkey oiecheek,
 ne aunchuwutammun, ne annoihitteet neek spummuk
 oiecheek.
4. Menenaunuh noonooch wuhkamauk tquogh nuh uhhuyu-
 tamauk ngummauweh.
5. Ohquutamouwenauunuh auneh mumachioeaukeh, ne anneh
 ohquutamouwoieauk numpeh neek mumacheh anneho-
 quaukeek.
6. Cheen hquukquaucheli siukeh annehenaunuh.
7. Panneeweh htouwenauunuh neen maumtehkeh.
8. Keah ngwehcheh kwiouwauweh mauweh noh pummeh;
 ktanwoi; estah awaun wtinnoiyuwun ne aunoieyon;
 hanweeweh ne ktinnoieen.

Amen.

"The Stockbridge Indians, as well as the tribe at New London, are by the Anglo-Americans called *Mohegans*, which is a corruption of *Muhhekaneew*, in the singular, or *Muhhekaneok*, in the plural. . . . Every tribe, as that of Farmington, that of Stockbridge, that of New London, &c., has a different dialect" (Edw. p. 5).

* *Observations on the Language of the Muhhekaneew Indians*. By Jonathan Edwards, D. D., New Haven, 1788. Re-printed, with notes and appendix, by Dr. J. Pickering, in *Mass. Hist. Collections* (2d Series), x. 81—154. "After I had drawn up these observations, lest there should be some mistakes in them, I carried them to Capt. Yōghum, a principal Indian of the tribe, who is well versed in his own language and tolerably informed concerning the English; and I availed myself of his remarks and corrections" (p. 3).

14. MOHEGAN,

OF STOCKBRIDGE, MASS.

From *The Assembly's Catechism* (Stockbridge, Mass., 1795); "printed in the *Moheakuunuk*, or Stockbridge Indian Language."*

Nokhnuh keyuh neh wohwekoiwaukunnuk oiyon :

1. Taukh wauwuhwekotautheek auneweethyun.
2. Taukh kkehkiyowaukunmaunk.
3. Taukh aunnchowautommun unnoiyek nunnooh tonneh
hkeek aunow aunoiyek wohwekoiwaukunnuk tonneh.
4. Menenaunuh nooh wohkommauk nuh wauwohkommau-
keh dugkhomnuh.
5. Don uhquautommmowwenaunuh muchchoiwaukonnonnaun
aunow naup auneh uhquautowmawwayauk muhmche-
hunnehhoquaukeek.
6. Don cheen aum kpoonnenauunuh qchehootwaukunnuk un-
neh,
7. Mohcheet pquaukqkennenaunuh thoikuhk wcheh.
8. Quaum keyuh knehnautommon mauweh neh kkiwaukon,
don unnowoiwaukun, wonk weekchaunauqsowaukun,
houmeweh

Non neh unnoiyick.

In Edwards's notation, *u* "has the sound of *u* in *uncle*, though much protracted," *w* is always "a mere consonant," *e* final is not sounded except in monosyllables, *gh* has "the strong guttural sound which is given by the Scots to the same letters in the words *tough*, *enough*, &c."

The language of the Stockbridge Mohegans — like that of the Moravian Delawares — was so much *improved* by the missionaries that it is impossible to determine how many of its dialectic peculiarities are indigenous. Some particles, certainly, have received meanings which did not originally

* Mr. Schoolcraft (*Indian Tribes*, iv. 539) mentions another — and apparently an earlier — edition of the Mohegan Catechism, in a copy of which he found a MS. note, that the translation was made "by John Quinney and Captain Hendrick." The latter was a chief of the Stockbridge Mohegans.

To the edition of 1795 is appended (pp. 27–31) a translation — probably by another hand — of Dr. Watts's *Shorter Catechism for Children*.

Schoolcraft printed (*Indian Tribes*, v. 591) what was meant to be a copy of the above version — with a statement that it was made by "the theologian Jonathan Edwards," &c.; but his text is full of mistakes and his interlinear "translation" worthless.

belong to them — to fill places of conjunctions, relative pronouns, and the definite article. This is more noticeable in the recent versions, as in that of the 19th Psalm, “done at the Cornwall School under the superintendence of Rev. John Sergeant, missionary,” printed in Dr. Morse’s *Report on Indian Affairs*, 1822 (and re-printed in Pickering’s edition of Edwards’s *Observations*), which I occasionally cite (Ps. 19).

In the invocation, Edwards has: ‘Our-Father that high-place-in thou-who-there-art’: in v. 14, ‘Our-Father thou that the-heaven (bright place?)-in thou-who-there-art.’ *N’ogh*, = Mass. *nash*, Del. *nōk* (v. 15), ‘my father’; *n’ogh-nuh* ‘our father.’ *Ne* (*neh*) is a demonstrative of inanimate objects — not a relative: with the conditional or participle of inan. verbs, it serves to form a concrete name, and may be translated by the definite article; e. g. (Mass.) *sequnni* ‘it is left behind, it remains,’ *ne sequnuk* ‘that (which is) left,’ ‘the remainder.’ *Spummuck* ‘on high’ = Abn. *spomkik*; see vv. 6–9, and note. *Oieon*, *oiyon*, = Mass. *áyeon* (from *ayeu* ‘he is here, or there’); see page 114, ante, and note on vv. 6–9: Edwards regards this form as a participle; 3d pers. *oieet* “he who lives or dwells in a place” (Edw. 12), pl. *oiecheek*, as in pet. 3 of v. 13.

1. *Taugh*, *taukh*, Mass. *toh*, “properly signifieth *utinam* ‘I wish it were so’” (El. Gram. 34). *Mauweh* ‘all, the whole’ is Mass. *moeu*, *miáwe*, ‘collected, gathered,’ Abn. *má’wi* ‘ensemble,’ Chip. *mamawi*; it is repeated in petitions 2, 3, 4, and 8: so in Ps. 19, *mauweh paupaum’h hkeyeke* “through all the earth.” *Auneweethyun* ‘thy name,’ lit. ‘as thou art so-called’: the Mohegans like the northern Crees readily pass from the soft *s* to *th* (*θ*); comp. *auneweseet*, *aunewetheet*, ‘his name’ (Cat. 14), *neh aunewehtautheek* ‘which is called’ (id. 25); Mass. *wesu-onk* ‘his name,’ *ussowesu* ‘he is called.’

2. ‘I-wish that-which thou-willest they-may-know all (everywhere?)’ — Edw. ‘I-wish thy-kingdom (come?)’ — Cat. *Kkiwaukun* ‘kingdom, dominion,’ *wkehkiyowaukun* ‘his kingdom,’ *lkkiyehtet* ‘he who is powerful,’ *kuktiyowauweet* ‘he who is king’ (Cat.). I suspect an error of the press in the final *-maunk*; Schoolcraft’s copy has *k’kihkiyowaukun pauk*, which may be nearer right, *pauk* representing

a form of the verb 'to come,' Mass. *peyau* 'he comes,' Abn. *ne-ba* 'I come,' &c.: but see note on version 9. Edwards gives a free translation: *ne aunchuwutammun* 'what thou wilt,' 'thy will' — as in pet. 3; *aunhchowautuk* 'his will' (Cat.).

3. "That let-them-so-do all persons this earth who-are-in, that thou-willest (or, thy will), that is-so-done in-that high-place [by] they-who-are-in." — Edw. "I-wish thy-will so-be-done this there-in earth, as is-so-done heaven there-in." — Cat. *Hkey* (which should have the locative form, as in the Catechism, *hkeek*, or in Ps. 19. 14, *hkey-eke*) 'earth'; *nuh keshetautoop ne spummuk wonk no hkeek* 'he made [that] heaven and [this] earth' (Watts's Cat.): Mass. *ohke*, *auki*, Abn. *ki*, locat. *kik*. *Nuunooh tonneh* 'this in'; the postposition *tonneh* corresponds to Quir. *terre* (v. 15), Del. *taani*, *talli* (vv. 16, 17), 'there-in' or 'there-at.' *Aunow* (Mass. *unne*, condit. *aunak*) 'it is like,' 'it is so' (here and in pet. 5, as a conjunction, 'as') represents one of the most prolific of Algonkin roots; comp. *aune-weethyun* (pet. 1), *unnoiyek* and condit. *aunoiyek* (3), *unnoiyich* imperat. 'let it so be,' for 'Amen.'

4. Edw. "Give-us this day-in bread (Indian cake)" &c. — Edw. "Give-us this day-in daily bread" — Cat. *Mēnuh* 'give it him' (Edw. 7); comp. Del. *milineen* (v. 17), Montagn. *mirinan* (v. 18). *Tquogh*, *tquokh*, Indian bread, Powhatan *tockowhough*, modern "tuckahoe," from *p'tukki* 'round'; comp. Quir. *petúkkeneag* (v. 15), Shawn. *tuckwhana* (v. 33): *Dugkhomnuh* (Cat.) is 'bread stuff' = *tquokho-mina*; comp. Shawn. *tockquanimi* (v. 34), and Abn. *apòn-mena*, vv. 8, 9. *Wohkommau*, *wuhkummauwu*, for 'day,' is peculiar to the Mohegan — and, I suspect, to the Mohegan mission dialect: it seems to be the equivalent of Mass. *wohkummiyeu* (El.) 'above, upwards' (comp. *wohqut* 'above,' El.), and may have been used in the sense of 'sky,' 'the visible heavens': comp. *paum-uhkummauweni-yeek* 'in the heaven above' (Cat., p. 13), *wohkummauweni wonk hkeey* 'heaven and earth' (p. 15).

5. "Forgive us"; comp. Mass. *ahquwantamainnean* (v. 10), Conn. vv. 11, 12, and Quiripi v. 16. *Muchchoiwaukun*,

mchaiwaukun, "sin" (Cat.) from *m'che* (Mass. *matche*) 'bad.' *Aunow* 'as,' see pet. 3. *Naup auneh* (Cat.) is printed by Schoolcraft as one word, *naupaunih*; Edwards has *numpeh neek*: *naupau* or *numpeh* = Abn. *nā'be*, Mass. *nompe*, 'reciprocally,' 'in turn': "pardon us [our] sins as we in turn pardon those who do us evil." *Muhmcheh-unnehhoogqueek* 'those who injure us' (Cat.); comp. Mass. *matchenekhukqueagig*, v. 10.

6. "Do not try (tempt) us in difficult things."—Edw. "And do not that we may fall temptation into."—Cat. *Cheen* = Mass. *ahque* (v. 10), Del. *katschi* (v. 17). *Siukeh* = Mass. *siogok*, *siogkok* 'that which is hard, or difficult, 'a hard thing' (El.), Narrag. *siuckat*; from *see* 'sour' (Lat. *acer*, *acerbis*; comp. Engl. sour, sore, sorrow); *siuhkoiwaukun* "misery" (Cat.). *Unneh* (v. 14) 'into, unto,' a post-position: comp. *tonneh* (= *ta-unneh*) pet. 3.

7. "But deliver-us difficulty(?) from."—Cat. "Put away from us what is hurtful."—Edw. *Pquaukhkennaut* 'redeemer,' *pquaukhkentowaukun* 'redemption' (Cat.): comp. Mass. (vers. 10). *Thoikuhk* = *siukuhk*; see pet. 6. *Wchek* 'from' (Mass. *wutche*) follows the noun, as in Chippeway and other northern dialects.

8. "For thou keepest of all the kingdom (dominion) and power, also glory, Forever."—Cat. "Thou because (For thou) rulest all every-where; thou art greatest; not any one is-such-as that thou-art-such-as; forever that thou-art-so (?)"—Edw. The particle *quaum* is used throughout the Catechism for the conjunctions 'for, because.' *Ngwehcheh* (Edw.), *nik wauch* (Cat.) 'because,' 'therefore'; *nik wauch neh emuk* "the reason of it is" (Cat.); literally, 'that from,' *ne wutche* (El.). *Keyuh*, *keah*, *keyoh* (Ps. 19) 'thou.' *Estah* (*stoh* Ps. 19, *estoh* Cat.) 'not,'—a particle which is peculiar to this dialect. *Wonk*, *wauk*, 'also,' Mass. *wonk*, El. *Weekchaunaugsowaukun* for 'glory,' (*week-chau-naug-tho-wau-con*, Ps. 19) is of uncertain meaning. *Hanweeweh*, *honmeweh* (*oneemwauwau*, Cat.) 'forever' = Del. *hallemiw*; see v. 17. *Wtinnoiyuwun* corresponds to Mass. *wuttinniin* (El.) as in Exod. iii. 14, *nen nuttinniin nen nuttinniin* for "I am that I am," and *matta ne nuttinniein* "it is not so with me," Job ix.

35: this verb is used by Eliot and in the Moh. Catechism as a substitute for the simple verb substantive — for which it was not mistaken by Edwards who says, explicitly, (Observ. p. 14): “They have no verb substantive in all their language.” In the Catechism, the question “What is God?” is rendered, *Taunek wtennoiyeu nuh Pohommawwas?* i. e. ‘of what kind,’ or ‘what is he such as?’

Non neh unnoiyick (misprinted for *unnoiyich*) ‘this be-it-so’; see above, pet. 3.

15. QUIRIPI.

From Rev. Abraham Peirson’s “Helps for the Indians,”* 1658, pp. 59, 60.

Noushin aûsequamuk terre:

1. Wérrettepantammunatch [wòweztaûonatch] kowésewunk.
2. Pèamoutch’ kùkkussootúmmowunk,
3. Koràntàmmowunk neratch sket’ ôkke nenar aûsequamuk terre.
4. Mèsonah èa kèsuk kónkesekatush noméetsounk [petúk-kenêag].
5. Akquantamínah nomàtchereúnganansh nenar tàkquantaminan ewojek nomàtcherehéaqueaguk,
6. Asquonsàkkongònan rame-re mítchemôuretounk,
7. Webe kûppoquolwhèriggamínah wutche madjk’.
8. Wutche kèkatak kètassotómoonk, quah milkèssowunk, quah àítarwejaúnguesówunk, michème quah michème, Ne ràtch.

The dialect of this version is, or was intended to be, that of the Indians of south-western Connecticut, near Long Island Sound. It was probably spoken by the small tribes westward, in Westchester county, — including the “Wiequaesgeeks” and perhaps the “Waoranacks.” The Dutch explorer, Block, first mentioned these Indians ‘of the long-water,’ — whom he found in 1614, near the mouth of Housatonic River,† — as “*Quiripeys*,” and I adopt this in preference

* “*Some Helps for the Indians; shewing them how to improve their Natural Reason, &c., &c.* . . . By Abraham Peirson, Pastor of the Church at Branford.” *Cambridge*, 1658. [Reprinted in the 3d volume of the Connecticut Historical Society’s Collections (not yet published), and separately, Hartford, 1873.]

† See De Lact, *Nieuwe Wereldt* (1630), b. iii., e. viii.

to the more familiar name *Quinnipiac*, which usage restricts to the vicinity of New Haven harbor, and which manifestly (by the substitution of *n* for *r*) belongs to another dialect than that of the Indians who lived thereabout.

Mr. Peirson's knowledge of the language was very limited. He had mastered none of the difficulties of the grammar; but he was assisted in his work by Thomas Stanton, "interpreter general to the United Colonies," and "by some others of the most able interpreters amongst us"; and his little volume has some value in its exhibition of dialectic peculiarities — e. g. the locative suffix *terre* (for Mass. *-ut, -it*), as in the Mohegan (*tonneh*) and Delaware (*taani, talli*).

'Our-father the-place-of-light in.' *Aûsequamuk*; comp. Micm. *wasok* (v. 2), *wajok* (v. 3, and note): Del. *awosságame* (and *awassagame-wunk* 'in heaven,' Zeisb.).

1. 'Let-it-be-well-regarded [or, let-it-be-obeyed] thy-name.' *Wérrettepantam* for Conn. *weyetuppatam* (v. 11), Mass. *wunnetupantam* 'it is holy' (El.): Peirson uses the verbal *wérrettepantammewunk* for "a grace" (p. 61). *Wòwetzáu-onatch* 'let it be obeyed'; *wauwetzám-mewunk*, verbal, for "obedience" (p. 31). *Wésewunk* or *wezzewunk* 'his name' (p. 47).

2. 'Let-it-come-hither thy-kingdom.' Comp. Mass. v. 10.

3. 'Thy-will be-it-so on-the-face-of (or, above) earth, as the-place-of-light in.' *Neratch* for *ne nnach, ne naj*, El. *Sket'*, *skeje*, a contradiction of *wosket* or *woskeche* (El.) 'on the top, or outside, of.' Peirson often writes *sketohke* (= *wosketohke*, El. in Lev. xi. 21) as one word; but he sometimes uses *skeje* for 'upon,' before an animate object, as *skeje nejek* "upon them" (p. 26). *Nenar* 'the same as,' = *ne nan*, El.

4. 'Give-thou-me this day daily (?) my food [round cake].' Comp. with Conn. (v. 11), *mèsonah* and *mesunnan*, &c. *Kèsuk* is without the affix which is required to give it the character of an adverb; it should be (as in vv. 10, 11,) *kesukok*, 'in the day,' 'to-day.' *Noméetsounk*, noun (verbal) collective, in the singular and with the 1st pers. prefix, 'my bread'; comp. *num'meetsuóngash* (v. 10) 'my victuals,' and see note. *Kón-kesekatush* appears to be formed from *kón* (*quinni* El.) 'long,'

and *kesekat* (*kesukod* El.) 'a day's time' (*quinni-kesuk* 'the day long,' "all the day," Ps. 44. 22, El.; *quinne kesukod*, Cotton: comp. *wame kesukodtash* "all the days" of his life, Gen. 5. 5).

5. 'Do-not-remember-against-me my badnesses, the-same-as I do-not-remember-against them who do-evil-to-us.' Comp. v. 10. Here again Peirson has confounded the transition forms: *tàkquantaminan* should have an initial *n'* for the first person (*n'tak*-). The distinction between 1st sing. and 1st pl. of the subject, in verbs of this class (having a direct object *inanimate* and remoter object *animate*, or inan. accusative with anim. dative,) was disregarded by Roger Williams, and not always observed by Zeisberger. Peirson had not discovered it. The verb should have been in the *subjunctive* (conditional), as in Eliot's version (see note on vers. 10). *Matchereúnganansh*, pl. of *matchereúnk* (and *-éwunk*, 'evil,' 'sin,' Cat. p. 7), verbal, 'being bad.' *Nomatcherehéaqueâguk* is intended for subj. participle, 3d pl. ~ 1st pl. of *matchereheau* (*matchenehheau*, El.) 'he does badly to him,' but the pronominal prefix (*n'*) should not have been used with this mood.

6. Peirson's interlinear translation is "Lead-us-not into temptation." *Asquonsàkkongonan* is perhaps misprinted for *ahquon*-, but I can make nothing of the verb, except by its suggestion of Eliot's *sagkompanau* 'he leads, directs, him.' *Rame* is used by Peirson for 'in,' *re* for 'to,' but very loosely: *re* is Del. *li*, *liwi*, 'to' (Zeisb.), Abn. *ari*, postposition, 'to, with,' (Rasles).

7. 'Only deliver-us(?) from what-is bad.' The verb is irreducible. The base is *pohquohheau* 'he makes-free,' or 'delivers'; the prefix seems to be the 2d pers. pronominal. *Madjk* = *matchuk*, El.

8. 'From (because) is-thine great-rulership, and strong-doing, and glory (?), great-while and great-while. So be it.' *Kèkatak* = Cree *kiya kit-ayan* 'thou it-is-thine' (v. 20b), Eliot's *kut-taihe* 'thine is,' (not *kut-ahtau-un* 'it is thine, belongs to thee,' as in v. 10,) with the 2d per. pronoun repeated for emphasis. *Aítarwejanúnguesówunk* is used throughout Peirson's Catechism for "glory," and in one place (p. 47) for "the attributes" of God. What may be its composition and literal meaning, I will not guess.

16. DELAWARE.

RENAPI, OF NEW SWEDEN.

From the translation of Luther's Catechism, by Rev. John Campanius, c. 1646.*

Nook nirœna, chijr jœni hœrîtt mochyrick Hocquaæssung
táppin :

1. Chîntikat chijre Roaænse.
2. Phaa chijre Tutæænungh.
3. Hátte chéko chijr taliottamen, renáckot thaani Hocquaæssung, renáckot ock taani Hácking.
4. Nirœna shéu póon pææta chijr jócke.
5. Ock chijr sinkáttan chéko nijr mattarútti hátte maranijto, renackot ock nijr sinkáttan chéko manúnckus Renáppi maranijto nijre.
6. Ock chijr, mátta bakíttan nijr, taan manúnckus Manétto.
7. Suck bakíttan nirœna suhwijvan manúnckus.

Kitzi.

It is too late to correct the misnomer "Lenni Lenape" which, on Mr. Heckewelder's authority,† is now generally accepted as "the national and proper name of the people we call Delawares," though it is questionable whether more than a single one of the many tribes from which he constructed the great "Delaware nation" could pronounce this national name. In the language of the Indians who occupied the shores of Delaware Bay and the banks of the river as far up, at least, as the fork at Easton, *Renápi* represents the pronunciation of the name which, in the Minsi or mission-Delaware dialect becomes *Lenápe*—meaning an adult male of the speaker's tribe or nation, a man of his own kind. Zeisberger (Grammar, p. 35) remarks that "the Delaware Indians have

* *Lutheri Catechismus, öfversatt på American-Virginiske Spraket.* Stockholm, 1696. *Vocabularium Barbaro-Virgineorum* is appended. The latter was again printed, with some additions, at the end of *Kort Beskrifning om Provinciën Nye Sverige*, by Thomas Campanius (a grandson of John, the compiler), Stockholm, 1704, and was translated by Duponceau for the Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, vol. iii. pt. 1. The elder Campanius was minister of the Swedish colony on the Delaware for six years, 1643-48. His translation of of Luther's Catechism (with the Vocabulary) remained in MS. till 1696, when it was printed, by the care of his grandson, at the cost of the King of Sweden.

† *Account of the History &c. of the Indian Tribes* (1819), p. 25.

no *r* in their language," and Heckewelder repeats this,* but the latter adds that "it seems that in the time of the Swedes the tribes who lived on the banks of the Delaware used the letter *r* instead of *l*," but "those tribes were extinct before he came to this country." He elsewhere† refers to the work of Campanius as in "the pure *Unami* dialect of the Lenape," but gives no authority for this statement. That it was the *prevailing* dialect of Delaware tribes, when the country was first known to Europeans, we have sufficient evidence. The northern Delawares were called *Sankhicans* by the Dutch. De Lact‡ give a short Sankhican vocabulary which agrees, remarkably, with that of Campanius, compiled, some fifteen years afterwards, among the southern Delawares of New Sweden; and the few words preserved by William Penn as a specimen of the language of the Indians of Pennsylvania, in 1683, are unmistakably in the same dialect. Of the numerous Indian place-names in Thomas Campanius' account of the country on both sides of the Delaware (*Kort Beskrifning* &c., 1704), *l* is found in only one (*Alumingh*, at the Falls opposite Trenton), and it occurs but-once on Lindström's map (1654–55) of New Sweden from Cape Henlopen to the Falls; but the sound of *r* was common, e. g. *Memiraco* or *Naraticon* (now, Racoon Creek, N. J.), *Arwames*, *Rancocus*, *Werenta-pecka*, *Techoherassi*. In the deed of Penn's purchase of lands near Neshaming, in 1682, Delaware river is named by its Indian "alias, *Makerisk* (or *Makerick*) *Kitton*,"§ i. e. 'the great main-river,' the prefix being *mochijrick* or *mochæerick* 'great' (Camp.).

The Renapi version of Luther's Catechism (including the Lord's Prayer) is amusingly bad. The translator had not learned even so much of the grammar as to distinguish the plural of a noun or verb from the singular, and knew nothing of the "transitions" by which the pronouns of the subject and the object are blended with the verb.

* Introduction to *Indian Names of Rivers* &c. in *Pennsylvania*.

† *History of the Indian Tribes*, p. 316.

‡ *Novus Orbis* (1633), lib. iii., c. 12; pp. 75, 76.

§ Hazard's *Annals of Pennsylvania*, 582. Heckewelder (*Indian Names* &c.) gave from deeds four forms of this name, one of which is *Makeerick Kitton*. He has mis-translated it, believing that "it was intended for Trenton Falls."

In re-printing, I have substituted ω for the $\tilde{\omega}$ used by Campanius. His consonants and vowels have, I infer, the Swedish sounds, $ch = k$, $j = \text{Engl. } y \text{ or } i$, $\text{\textit{æ}} = \text{Germ. } \text{\textit{ä}}$, &c.

'My-Father our thou yonder good great sky [high-place] sitting' ("Fader war tu som i then härliga höga himmelen sitter," Camp.). *Nook* has the pronominal sign (n) of the first person and means 'my father,' but Campanius uses it as often with pronouns of the second or third person as of the first. He distinguishes the possessive pronouns from the personal, but not the plural from the singular: *nijr* stands for 'I,' 'me,' 'we,' or 'us,' *nirōna* for 'my' or 'our,' &c. Occasionally he adds s or z to a name, to form a genitive, as *nookz* 'the father's' of 'of the father,' *hackingz* 'of the earth,' &c. *Chijr* (Mass. *keen*, Moh. *keah*, Ilin. *kira*) 'thou.' *Jōni* (*iō-ni*, *yeu-ni*) a demonstrative, serves Campanius for 'this' and 'that,' 'these' and 'those,' 'here' and 'yonder': comp. Del. *jūn* 'here,' *julak* 'yonder,' Zeisb. *Mochyrick* 'big,' 'large,' 'great,' used as adjective and adverb; comp. Mass. *mogki*, Len. *amangi* (Zeisb.) and *machkweu*. *Hocquaéssung* "heaven, sky" (Camp.); comp. *hockockque* "clouds, the sky," *hockung* "the high building; heaven; up, upwards." *Táppin* is used for 'to sit down,' in the indicative, imperative, or infinitive, without regard to number or person; Mass. *mattappu* 'he sits down.'

Chintika for 'holy,' 'hallowed,' 'prayer,' &c., is one of the curiosities of Campanius's version: *Chintika Manetto* "the Holy Spirit," *mochyrick Sacchéman chintika* [big sachem holy] "bishop," &c. This word is from a verb which means 'to dance and sing' (Powhatan *kantokan*, *kantikantie*, Strachey), and which — corrupted to "canticoy" — was adopted by the Dutch and English settlers of New York and New Jersey to denote a social gathering or dancing party.* Dancing was a common accompaniment of Indian worship and so, in some sort, a religious rite; and the interpreter, who probably understood Swedish as imperfectly as Campanius understood the Delaware, could find no better translation

* See Notes on Words derived from N. A. Indian Languages, in this volume, p. 10.

for 'sacred' or 'holy' than '*kintakaye*' or *chintika*. *Rwaénse* 'name'; comp. Len. *elewunsu* 'he is called' (Zeisb.), and Ottawa *anosowin* 'name.'

2. 'Come thy kingdom.' *Tutæenungh* is obscure: I find the word in the dialogue appended to the *Kort Beskrifning*, where a Sachem speaks of *nijrøna tutæenung* "our country."

3. 'Have what thou wishest, so in-the sky, so also in-the earth.' *Hátte* is made to do service for 'to be,' and 'to have'; Len. *hattaü* "he has, it has, it is there" (Zeisb.), Mass. *ohtou, ohtean*. *Renáckot* = Len. *linaquot* "like unto" (Zeisb.).

4. 'Our always bread bring-us to-day': in the exposition of the prayer, this is varied to *pæton ock sheü póon* 'bring-it and always bread.' *Sheü* (*séu, saéwi* 'always,' Vocab.) is probably for *m'sheu*: comp. Mass. *micheme*, Chip. *mojag*. *Póón* (pronounced *po-aun*) = Abn. *aba'n* 'bread,' lit. 'what is baked': see vv. 6, 7, 9. *Pææt* (*pä-üt*) for 'give us,' means 'bring it'; Len. *petoon* 'to bring' (Zeisb.); Chip. *nin-bidon* 'I bring it'; *pææt póon mitzi* "give me bread to eat" (Camp. Vocab.).

5. 'Also thou put-away what we badly have done, so-as also we put-away what bad men do [to] us.' *Sinkáttan* has in the Vocabulary and Catechism the several meanings of 'throw away,' 'drive out,' 'put away,' 'forgive': comp. Chip. *nin ságidinan* 'I put it out of doors, turn it out' (Bar.). *Manúnckus renáppi* 'bad man,' 'bad men'; *manúnckus Manetto* (bad manitou) 'the devil.' *Manúnckus* seems to be Len. *manunxu* "he is angry" (Zeisb.) and Chip. *maninagosi* "he looks ugly" (Bar.).

6. 'Also thou not cast-off us, to bad Spirit.' *Bakíttan* is Len. *pakiton* 'to throw it away'; Chip. *nin-pagidinan* 'I let it go,' 'abandon it.'

7. 'But cast-off our all bad.' *Suhwijvan* is used, without change of form, for 'all,' 'always,' 'everything,' &c. as adjective, adverb, and noun. *Kitzi* 'that is certain,' 'certainly': *kitzi matta* 'certainly not' (Vocab.): Len. *kitschiwi* "verily, surely," Zeisb.

17. DELAWARE.

"LENNI LENAPE" OF NORTHERN PENNSYLVANIA.

From Zeisberger's *Spelling Book* (1776) and *History of our Lord* (1806).^{*} "Pronounce *a* like *aw* in *law*; *e* like *ay* in *say*; *i* like *ee*; *u* like *oo* or *ou* in *you*; *ch* nearly like Scottish *gh*; *j* like English *i* in *in*; *g* like *g* in *gay*." For the termination of the verbal noun, here printed *-wâgan*, Zeisberger has *-woagan*; Hecke welder, *-wagan*.

[Ki] Wetochemellenk, [talli] epian awossagame:

1. Machelendasutsch ktellewunsowâgan;
2. Ksaksimawâgan pejewiketsch;
3. Ktelitehewâgan leketsch talli achquidhakamike elgiqui leek talli awossagame;
4. Milineen juke gischquik gunigischuk achpoan;
5. Woak miwelendamau[w]ineen 'untschanauchsowâgannena, elgiqui niluna miwelendamauwenk nik tschetschanila-wemquengik;
6. Woak katschi npawuneen li achquetschiechtowâganink;
7. Schukund ktennineen untschi medhikink;
8. Ntite knihillatamen ksaksimawâgan, woak ktallewusso-wâgan, woak ktallowilissowâgan; [ne wuntschi halle-miwi] li hallamagamik. Amen.

As translated by Mr. Heckewelder:

"Thou our-Father there dwelling beyond the-clouds; ¹ Magnified (or, praised) be thy name; ² Thy-kingdom come-on; ³ Thy-thoughts (will, intention,) come to-pass here upon (or, all-over-the-)earth, the same as-it-is there in-heaven (or, beyond the clouds); ⁴ Give-to-us on (or, through-)this day the-usual (or, daily) bread; ⁵ And forgive-to-us our-transgressions (fault-) the-same-as we-mutually-forgive-them who (or, those-)who-have-transgressed (or, injured-)us; ⁶ And let-not us come-to-that that we-fall-into-temptation; ⁷ But (rather) keep-us free from all-evil; ⁸ For thou-claimest thy-kingdom, and the-superior-power, and all-magnificence. From heretofore ever (always). Amen (so be-it; so may-it-come-to-pass)."

^{*} *Essay of a Delaware-Indian and English Spelling Book, for the Use of the Schools of the Christian Indians on Muskingum River.* By David Zeisberger, missionary among the Western Indians. Philadelphia, 1776: sm. 8vo. p. 113. (Cited as Z. sb.) A second edition was printed in 1806.

The History of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. [Harmony of the Four Evangelists.] By Rev. S. Lieberkuhn; translated into the Delaware Indian Language by Rev. David Zeisberger. New York, 1821, 12mo. pp. 222.

I have copied the later text, supplying in brackets the words of the earlier (1776) which were omitted in revision.

"The Lord's Prayer in the Delaware Language," with a verbal translation, by Mr. Heckewelder, follows Zeisberger's earlier version, except in orthography, the use of a particle (*yun* for *talli*) in the 3d petition, and the omission of the final *li hallamagik*. This is printed with the *Correspondence* of Heckewelder and Duponceau, in *Trans. of Hist. & Lit. Com. of Am. Philos. Society*, i. 439. (Cited as Hkw.)

This *re-translation* — though not entirely accurate — is on the whole better than any other that I have had occasion to notice in this paper.

The dialect which Zeisberger and Heckewelder learned to speak and write was that of the Moravian mission stations in the forks of the Delaware, which — to distinguish it from the language actually spoken in the 17th century on Delaware Bay and River — we may call “mission-Delaware.” The first Moravian converts among the American Indians were from Mohegan (“Mahikander”) tribes, east of the Hudson, in Litchfield county, Connecticut, and Dutchess and Columbia counties, New York. Many of these Mohegans removed, between 1743 and 1755, to the Moravian settlements in Pennsylvania, and were gathered at Gnadenhütten (now Lehigh-ton) on the Lehigh, at the mouth of Mahoning Creek, and north of the Blue Mountains. “Speaking a dialect of the same language, the Mohegans became the apostles of the Delawares,”* and it was through Mohegan interpreters that the missionaries, Fabricius and, afterwards, Zeisberger, learned the language which has been denominated “Lenni Lenape” and, more commonly, Delaware. This part of Pennsylvania, when the Moravians first became acquainted with it, was occupied by the migratory Shawnees (*Shawanos*,†) allies of the Delawares, and protégés of the Iroquois who asserted the right to dispose of Delaware territory at their pleasure. Some of these Shawnees joined the Mohegans and Delawares of Gnadenhütten on the Lehigh and Waiomik (Wyoming) on the Susquehannah. The language of a band of the Minsi or Monseys — the inland and northern Delawares‡ — may have been somewhat modified by constant intercourse and frequent intermarriage with the Shawnees.§ Hence, perhaps, the

* Loskiel's *History of the Mission of the United Brethren*, transl. by Latrobe, (London, 1794), ii. 84, 85, 117; 73.

† *Ib.* i. 127, 128; ii. 32.

‡ “Even as late as 1742, the Minsi had a town, with a large peach orchard, on the tract of land where Nazareth, in Pennsylvania, has since been built; another on the Lehigh, and others beyond the Blue Ridge,” &c.—Heckewelder's *Hist. Account*, 34.

§ To the present time, the remnants of these two tribes maintain their ancient alliance: “considerable intimacy exists and intermarriages occur between the

adoption of the Shawnee *l* for the *r* or *n* of the Delaware proper, i. e. the language spoken on the river and bay of that name and along the coast. The northern (Minsi) dialect approximates more nearly than the southern to the Mohegan, and Mohegan interpreters probably imparted to the mission-Delaware some of their own peculiarities of pronunciation. The missionaries themselves, finding that "the Indian languages had no words for many new ideas and objects, were obliged to *enrich them* with several *English and German* words, and, by degrees, custom rendered these new terms intelligible."* How much of the Shawnee and Mohegan dialects and how many new grammatical forms they may have found it convenient to engraft on that of the Indians of Lehigh Valley and the Blue-Mountain region, cannot now be ascertained.

For the study of the mission-Delaware, Zeisberger's writings are the chief resource — particularly, his Delaware Grammar in Mr. Duponceau's translation (Z. Gr.)†. For modern Delaware, I have occasionally cited Whipple's vocabulary (Wh.) in the second volume of Pacific Railroad Reports, pp. 56–61, and Cummings's (Cumm.), in Schoolcraft's History of the Indian Tribes, vol. ii., pp. 470–481.

Ki wetochemellenk was intended to mean 'thou who fatherest us.' In his grammar (p. 37) Zeisberger has *wetochemellenk* "O our father," as an example of the use of a vocative. The termination is that of the subjunctive present, transition of 2 s.~1 pl. 'thou . . . to us' (Gr. p. 168). This is perhaps one of the words with which the language was enriched by the missionaries. Zeisberger does not appear to have

Shawnees and Delawares. There is also some resemblance in personal appearance, both wearing the moustache." — Whipple and Turner's *Vocabularies, in Report upon the Indian Tribes* (Washington, 1856). Zeisberger's first publication (the Delaware-Indian Spelling Book) was made after the removal of the Christian Indians (in 1772) from Pennsylvania to the Muskingum.

* Loskiel, History of the Mission of the U. Brethren, ii. 103.

† *A Grammar of the Lenni Lenape or Delaware Indians*. Translated from the German manuscript of the late David Zeisberger, by P. S. Duponceau. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society, iii. 65–250 (and separately, Philadelphia, 1827).

completely analyzed it, for after giving (Gr. 38) the inflections of *nooch* 'my father,' *kooch* 'thy father,' *noochena* 'our father,' he remarks that these are "formed from *wetoochwink*, father": but *wetoochwink* has the termination of an abstract verbal, and means 'fathering,' 'being a father,' — more accurately, 'being the *common* father' (of a family or race) or subjectively, 'having a common father,' 'a *with*-fathering.' The prefix *wet-* gives the meaning of 'with, together, in company' (*wit-*, Gr. 183): comp. Chip. *nin widjoossema* 'I have the same father as' (he has), *nin widjoossendimin* 'we have the same father, all of us' (Bar.).* "Our Father" would have been better translated by the primary *noochena* (Mass. *nooshun*; Moh. *noghnuh*, Edw., whose *gh* = *ch* of Zeisberger).

Talli (*taani*, v. 16) 'there, yonder'; Abn. *tahalo* (v. 6), Quir. *terre*; a compound of *ta* and *li*, 'there-in' or 'thereat.' *Epian* 'who sittest'; comp. Micm. *ebin* (v. 3, and note), Cree and Alg. *epian* (v. 9, 23). Zeisberger (Gr. 53) calls it an "adverbial form" of the verb *achpin* or *appin* "to be there, in a particular place," but in this he confounds it with *eyayan*, which he incorrectly assigns to a "local relative mood" of the verb *eu* or *waen* 'he goes to a place' (Gr. 81): *appin* means (1) 'he sits,' (2) 'he remains, rests, is *permanent*.' *Awosságame* 'heaven' (Z. Gr. 38), "beyond the clouds," Hkw., who evidently derives it from *awossi* 'beyond, the other side' (Narr. *awwusse* "further off," R. W.): but it seems to be related to Micm. *wasok* (vv. 2, 3, and note). Montagn. *ouascon*, *waskutsh* (v. 21), and to mean 'in the place of light,' 'where light is.' Comp. Chip. *aiassiwá* 'light,' *wasséia* 'it is light,' *owassamigonan* 'he illuminates it' (Bar.), Mass. *wohsum* 'it shines, is light,' and Del. *waseleu* 'clear, bright; (Z. SB.); Quir. *aúsequamuk* (v. 15).

1. *Machelendum* "to honor a person" (Z. Gr. 94), "to esteem, to value" (Z. SB.) *machelendasutch* "he shall be honored" (SB.). Here is an error which is very common in

* I have not overlooked what Heckewelder wrote to Duponceau about "the shades of difference between these several expressions" (given by Zeisberger, for "father") being "so nice and delicate" as to be of difficult explanation, &c. Mr. Heckewelder doubtless had a sufficiently good knowledge of "Lenni Lenape" Delaware as a *spoken* dialect, but his analyses are absolutely worthless.

Zeisberger's translations. The verb has not the passive form. *Machelendam* is one of the verbs in "*elendam*, which indicates a disposition of the mind," — belonging to Zeisberger's 3d conjugation (Gr. 50, 94); the prefix representing *macheli* 'much' (Z.). It cannot have an *animate* object, and the translation, "to honour a *person*," is wrong: the change of *-am* to *-asu* was intended to give it the passive form, but does not effect this: *-tch* is the sign of the future. The characteristic of the passive voice, in this class of verbs, is *g* or *k* in the penult: as in *nihillalgussutch* 'he shall be owned,' from *nihillatamen* 'I own' (Gr. 115), *pendaquotsch* (*pendakwotch*) 'he will be heard,' from *pendamen* 'he hears' (Gr. 100), &c. Zeisberger sometimes writes *q*, sometimes *g*, more often *x* (Gr. χ) for this characteristic, and in *The History of our Lord*, p. 3, he has the passive animate future of this same verb, *machelemuxutsch*, for 'he shall be [esteemed] great,' in Luke i. 15. Comp. Chip. *nind'ishpendán* 'I exalt, greatly esteem it,' *ishpendagosi* 'he is greatly esteemed, highly honored' (Bar.); but if the subject be *inanimate*, the form is *ishpendjigade* 'it is greatly esteemed.' These distinctions, existing in one or another form in all Algonkin languages, Zeisberger does not appear to have discovered in the Lenni Lenape.

Ktellewunsowágan 'thy name,' from *elewunsu* 'he is called,' 'is said-to,' — and that from *luéü* 'he says' (Mass. *nawau*, El.). All these verbals in *-wágan* (of which eight occur in this version of the Lord's Prayer) are classed by Zeisberger as "substantives derived from *passive* verbs" (Gr. 40). It is easier to find a passive sense in 'name' ('being called'), than in 'kingdom' or 'sachemdom,' in the 2d petition, or in 'power' and 'glory' in the 8th.* The fact is, either the Lenni Lenape is, as compared with other Algonkin languages, singularly poor in verbal nouns, or — which is more probable — Zeisberger had learned only one of the half-dozen forms

* The examples which Zeisberger gives in his Grammar (l. c.) are all *really* passive verbals; e. g. "*wulakeningussowágan*, the being praised," "*schingalgusso-wágan*, the being taken," "*pilsohalgussowagan*, purity" (lit. being made pure), &c. But these have the characteristic (*-gusso*) of the passive voice, preceeding the formative (*-wágan*) of the verbal noun.

in which verbs — active, intransitive, passive, causative, &c. — may be made to serve as nouns. Compare, for example, the Chippeway (see Baraga's Grammar, pp. 29–32):

dibaamáge 'he pays,'

nin dibaamágo 'I am paid,'

kashkendám 'he is sad,'

minikwé 'he drinks,'

pakíteige, 'he strikes,'

dibaamágewin 'payment' (given).

dibaamágowin, 'payment' (received).

kashkendámowin 'sadness.'

minikw.wín 'drinking' and

minikwéssiwín 'non-drinking,' temperance.

pakíteigan 'a hammer'

3. *Leketsch* 'be it so,' imper. 3d sing. of *leke* 'it is so,' 'it is true' (which Zeisberger classes with "concessive conjunctions," Gr. 185), the indefinite-intransitive form of *le-u* 'it is so' (Gr. 57): comp. Mass. *nenaj*, Quir. *neratch*. For *talli*, Heckewelder has *yun* 'here.' *Achquidhackamike* = Chip. *ogidakamig* 'upon [the surface of the] earth,' 'above ground' (from *ogidj* 'on, upon,' and *-kamig*, in compos. 'ground,' Bar.): in Zeisberger's Grammar (183), this synthesis is written *wochgidhackamique*, and the prefix, *wochgitschi*, "above, on the top, or on the surface of." The primary meaning is 'to cover,' and the root appears in Mass. *hogk-i* 'it covers.'

Elgiqui "as, in the same manner" (SB.) = Abn. *ereghik-kwi*. *Leek*, subj. 3d sing. of *le-u* 'it is so,' = *elek* "as it is," Gr. 57, where it is incorrectly given as an impersonal form of *lissin* "to be or do so."

4. *Milineen*; Moh. *menenaunüh* (v. 13), Cree *miyinan*, *mee-thinan* (vv. 20b, c.), Montagn. *mirinan* (v. 22), Illin. *miriname* (v. 32). *Juke gischquik* 'on this day'; in the earlier version (SB.) *eligischquik*: comp. Mass. *yeu kesukok*. *Gunigischuk* does not mean 'daily' but 'the day long,' *gunni-gischuk* = Mass. *quinni-kesuk* 'all the day,' 'the day long' (El.): comp. Quir. *konkesekatush* (v. 15, and note). *Achpoan* = Abn. *aba'n*, and *póón* (v. 16), which see: the *ch* must have been very lightly sounded, probably a mere aspirate, since it disappears in *n'd-appoan-um* 'my bread,' *w'dappoanum* 'his bread' &c. (Z. Gr. 39).

5. *Miwelendam* "he forgives" (Gr. 94), a better translation than that given in the Spelling Book: "to quit a place for sorrow, grief"! The prefix *mî* denotes 'removal' (see note on *mîyinan*, v. 20b); with *elendam*, the formative of

verbs expressing mental conditions or activities (see above, on 1st petition), it means 'to remove from mind,' 'to dis-mind,' so, 'to forgive.' The form here given is the imperat. 2d s.~1st pl. of *miwelendam-awa* 'he forgives (*it*) to (*him*).'
Tschanauchsowâgan "fault, defect" (SB.); *tschetschanilawem-quengik* "those who trespass against us" (SB.); the former being a verbal from *tschannaüchsin* [*chanäüksin?*] "to fail, to miss" (ib.).

6. Heckewelder mis-translates here: if the form of the last word (another verbal in *-wâgan*) is correct, the meaning is: "And do-not we-do-not-come to trial (a being-tried)." *N'pawuneen* is the negative form of the indic. pres. 1st pl. of *peu* 'he comes': *katschi* "let it alone, don't do this" (Gr. 174), is from *ka* 'not,' a particle of prohibition (Montagn. *eka*, Alg. *ka*, *kawin*, Abn. *ekwi*, Mass. *akwi*), with the characteristic (*tsch*) of the imperative future. Zeisberger uses it with the imperative of prohibition, as, *katschi lissiham* "do not thou do so" (Gr. 58), *katschi pahan* "come thou not" (88),—but, in the indic. pres. negative, *matta n'pawuneen* "we do not come" (87): for *katschi* cannot properly be used before a verb in the indicative. *Li* "to, into" (Z.) is mistranslated by Heckewelder, "that." *Achquetschiechto-wâgan* (*akwetchi'* *ektowâgan*) with the locative affix, 'into trial'; comp. Mass. *en qutchhuaongan-it* (v. 10), Chip. *gôdjition* 'he tries it,' *godjiewisiwin* 'trial, experiment' (Bar.); the root (Chip. *gôdji*, *gwedji*, Mass. *qutche*, &c.) signifying 'to make trial of,' 'to prove.'

7. *Schuk*, *schukend* "only" (Z. Gr. 175), "but then" (SR.): *suck*, v. 16. *Ktennineen* is translated by Heckewelder "keep us free,"—but cannot, in this sense, be traced to any known root. *Untschi*, Abn. *otsi*, Chip. *ondji* 'from.' *Medhik* 'evil' (Z.), Mass. *machuk*, having the conditional (participle) form, cannot properly take the additional inflection, *-ink*.

8. *Ntite*—which in Zeisberger's Spelling-Book is translated 'I think'—is substituted in the revised version for *alod* of the earlier (1776). In the Grammar, *alod* 'there, yet' (176); *n'titechta* and *n'titechquo* 'then, while' (177). *K'nihillatamen*, not (as Hkw. translates) "thou claimest,"

but 'thou ownest, art master of' (Z. Gr. 114). *K'tallowilis-sowâgan* ("all magnificence" Hkw.) is from *allowi* 'most, supreme' (Mass. *anue* 'more than'), and *wulisso* "fine, pretty," "good, handsome" (Z. Gr.), = Mass. *wunnesu*. *Ne wuntschi* (Mass. *ne wutche*) 'this from,' 'from this (time).' *Hallemiwi* "eternal" (sb.), is from the same root as *allowi*, *eluwî*, 'more than,' "most" (Z.): comp. Abn. *aⁿermiwi* 'in æternum' (R.), Moh. *hanîweeweh* (Edw.).

For "Amen," Heckewelder has *nanne leketsch* "so be it; so may it come to pass"; *nanne* (*nahanne*, Z.; Mass. *neane*, *ne unni*, El.) 'such as this,' 'so'; *leketsch*, as in 3d petition, imperat. 3d sing. of *leke* (the indefinite form of *leü* 'it is so,') means "let it be so": comp. *nanne leu* "it is certainly true" (Z. Gr. 174): Mass. *ne naj*, Abn. *nialetch*.

18. CREE (KNISTENO).

RED RIVER.

From *Prières, Cantiques, etc. en Langue Crise. Ayami'e Neïyawe Masinaïkan*. Montreal, 1857. Compiled by the Rev. J. B. Thibault, and printed in Evans's syllabic characters.

Notanan ki'tchi kisikôk eyayan:

1. Pitane miweyitchikatek kiwiyowin.
2. Pitane otchitchipayik kitipeyitchikewin.
3. Kaïsi natotakawîyan kisikôk pitane ekosi isi waskitas-kamik.
4. Anots kakisikak mi'inân nipakwesikaniminân mina tat-waw kisikake.
5. Kaïsi kasinamawakitwaw ka-ki-matchitotakoyakwaw ekosi wi isi kasinamawinân kaki' matchitotamâk.
6. Pisiskeyiminân kitchi eka matchi mamitoneyitamâk.
7. Iyekatenamawinân kamayatak.

Pitane ekosi ikik.

"The Knistinaux, Klistinaux, Kristinaux, and, by abbreviation, *Crees*, are the most northern tribe of the Algonkin family. Bounded on the north by the Athapascas, they now extend, in consequence of recent conquests, from Hudson's Bay to the Rocky Mountains, though they occupy the most westerly part of that territory, on the north branch of the Saskachawan, in common with the Sioux Assiniboin. They have also spread themselves as far north as the Lake Athapasca. On the south they are bounded by the Algonkins and

Chippeways; the dividing line being generally that which separates the rivers that fall into James's Bay and the southwestern parts of Hudson's Bay, from the waters of the St. Lawrence, of the Ottawa River, of Lake Superior, and of the River Winnipeg.*

The Rev. J. B. Thibault had been a missionary among the western Crees, and in 1845 was stationed at Manitou (Lake St. Anne). When this prayer book was printed, he was living at the Red River Settlement (Assiniboia), where the dialect assimilates more nearly to the Chippeway than does that of the "Montagnais" or of the tribes near Hudson's Bay. "Those of the interior, as on the Saskáthewun," says Mr. Howse (Cree Grammar, 38), "affect more the flat (?) series, as *th* (in *this*), *b*, *d*, *z*, *j*, *g* guttural; as do the Chippeways also"; while among the tribes on the coast of the Bay, "the linguals are *th* as in *thin*, *t*, *s*, *st*, *ts*, *tch*, and their nasal *n*." At the Red River Settlement, continual intercourse between the Plain-Crees and northern Chippeways is likely to promote assimilation of dialects.

The characters used by Mr. Thibault do not distinguish *b* from *p*, *d* from *t*, or *g* from *k*. In translating, I have written, throughout, *p*, *t*, and *k*. Baraga remarks that it is, in fact, "often impossible to ascertain by the pronunciation of an Indian, whether the word begins with a *b* or *p*, with a *d* or *t*, with a *g* or *k*."

"The widely scattered tribes of this nation change the *th* [which Mr. Howse regards as the primitive sound,] consecutively into *y*, *n*, *l*, *r*; e. g. *wé-thă* ('he'), *wé-yă*, *wé-nă*, *wé-la*, &c. . . . In the cases where the Crees in the vicinity of the coast (lat. 57°), pronounce the *th*, the contiguous inland tribes of this nation always use *ĩ* or *y*; or at most, the *th* is so softly uttered that a nice ear only can detect it. More westerly, it is decidedly lost in the *ĩ* or *y*, as above" (Cr. Gram. 141). In passing from the Cree to the Chippeway, *th* always, and sometimes *t* and *d*, change to *n*; the Cree *s* is frequently omitted before *k* and *t*; and the nasals *m* and *n* are often inserted before *b*, *d*, and *g*.

* Gallatin's *Synopsis of the Indian Tribes* (1836), p. 23.

19. CREE.

SASKATCHEWUN?

From *Oregon Missions*, by Rev. P. J. De Smet. (New York, 1847.) p. 162.

Notanan kitsi kijikok epian:

1. Pitone inewaitsikatek kiwigowin,
2. Pitone otitamomakad kitibeitsikewin,
3. Ispits enatota kawigan kitsi kisikok, pitone ekusi iji waskitaskamik.
4. Anots kakijikak miinâni [ni]pakwejiganiminan mina tatwaw kigigake.
5. Canisi kaiji kasenamawayakik ka ki matsitota koyankik ekusi iji kasinamawinan eki matsitotamank.
6. Pisiskeiminan kitsi eka matsi mamitoueitamank,
7. Iekatenamawinan kamayatok. Pitone Ekeesiikik.

As translated by Father De Smet:

"Our father in the great heaven being seated: ¹ May it be honored thy name. ² [May it] arrive thy kingdom (reign). ³ Like thee being followed in the great heaven, may it be the same on earth. ⁴ Now in this day give us our bread, and in every day. ⁵ As we have remitted to those who have done [us] evil so likewise remit unto us what we have done evil. ⁶ Be merciful to us that we fall not into evil. ⁷ Keep away from us all what is evil. May it be so."

This version was probably obtained among the remote western Crees, near the Rocky Mountains, where the Rev. J. B. Thibault and Bourassa had begun mission work before Father De Smet visited the Fort of the Mountains and the north branch of the Saskatchewan, in 1845.

I have corrected two errors of transcription or the press, by restoring (in brackets) a lost prefix, and in the same petition, changing "*latwaw*" to *tatwaw*. "*Canisi*," at the beginning of the 5th petition, is certainly wrong as it stands, and perhaps should be omitted entirely, as the sense is complete without it. The interlinear translation is by no means accurate.

20. CREE.

From *Oo Meyoo Ahchemowin S. Matthew* (the Gospel of Matthew), London, 1853. The vowels as in English: *ah* for Italian *a*. In the text copied, the mark of the aspirate or hiatus is placed *over* the vowel, instead of *after* it as here printed.

N'o'otahwenahn ke'che kesikoo'k āyahyun:

1. Kittah we' ke'kahtaye'tahkwun ke we'eyuwun.
2. Ke tipaye'chekawin kittah oochechepaiyu.

3. A itaye'tumun kittah we' toochekahtao otaħ uskee'k,
kah isse ahyahk ke'che kesikoo'k.
 4. Meeyinahū ahmoo'ch kah kesikahk ka oo pa'hkwaseku-
nimeyali'k.
 5. Menah usainumowinahū ne mussinahikawinenahmah, kah
isse usainumowuke'etchik unekee kah mussinahumah-
kooya'hkik.
 6. Menah akahweyah ito'otahinahū wahyāsecchekawini'k,
 7. Mahkah meetahkwanumowinahū muche kakwi.
 8. Keyah ket ahyahū ke'che otānowewin, wahwahch soo'-
kachtissewin, menah mahmechemikoowin, kahkeka.
- Amen.

20(b). CREE,

RED RIVER.

The same version as the preceding, with some dialectic variations and a few verbal corrections (distinguished by italics); transliterated from the Cree Prayer Book,* Archdeacon Hunter's translation. For the vowels: *a* as in *arm*, *e* as in *prey*, *i* as in *pique*, *ī* as in *pin*, *o* as in *so*, *oo* as *oo* in *tool*, or short, as in *foot*; *y* is always a consonant.

N'ootāwīnān ki'tchi-kisīkookh eyāyan:

1. Kīta wih ki'kateyi'tākwan ki-wi'yoowīn.
 2. Ki-tīpeyi'tchikewīn kīta wih ootchitchipayu.
 3. E īteyi'taman kīta wih tootchikāteu ota āskīkh, kā īsi
ayāk ki'tchī kisīkookh.
 4. Mīyīnān anoo'ts kā kisīkāk ke *w'tchi pimātisīyākh*.
 5. Mīna asenamawīnān ni *matchi'tiwiwināna*, kā īsi asena-
mawakī'tchik anikī kā *wanitootākōyākik*.
 6. Mīna ekāwiya itoo'tānan *koteyi'towīnik*.
 7. Māka mitākwenamawīnān *matchi kekwaī*.
 8. Kīya kit ayān ki'tchi otenawīwīn, wāwāts soo'kātesiwīn,
mīna mami'tchimīkoowīn, kākike *mīna kākike*.
- Emen.

This version represents, I infer, the dialect of the mixed Crees ("Plain" and "Swampy") of Assinibolia; at the Red River Settlement, where Archdeacon Hunter resided, and the Mission village on the river below. In both of the forms given, it manifests better knowledge of the grammar and more familiar acquaintance with Cree idioms than do some earlier versions. The publication, in 1844, of Mr. Joseph

* *The Book of Common Prayer*, . . . translated into the language of the Cree Indians of the Diocese of Rupert's Land, North West America. London Soc. for Prom. Chr. Knowledge, 1859. 12mo. Printed in Evans's syllabic characters.

Howse's valuable Cree Grammar had greatly facilitated the study of this language. In the following notes, I cite this grammar (H.), the Prayer Book (PB.) and the translation of Matthew's Gospel (Matt.).

N'ootáwínán (*n'ootáweendán*, H. 187) 'our father,' is correctly formed; but *notanan* in vv. 18, 19, certainly does not come from *n'ootáwi* 'my father,' i. e. 'I come from him.' *Eyáyan* (*íayan*, *i-i-án*, H.) 'thou who art in, who dwellest in': in v. 19, *epian* 'thou who sittest,' or 'remaineth.'

1. 'Let-it-be hereafter greatly-honored thy-naming.' *Kíta* (*káťá*, *kuttá*, H.) "is a sign of the future tense, used in both [indic. and subj.] moods" (PB.)* and with the imperative indefinite (H. 204); here joined with *wih* (*we*, H.) "a particle expressing wish or desire, the sign of the optative [or subjunctive] mood" (PB.).

2. 'Thy mastery may it hereafter come-hither.' *Tipeyi'tchikewin* (*tibeitsikewin*, v. 19), verbal noun from *tipeyi'tchike* (Chip. *dibéndjige*) 'he is master' (Bar.), literally, 'he owns,' 'is proprietor, or possessor'; whence, (2d pers. subj.) *tipeyi'tchikeyán* 'thou who art Lord,' and *tipeyi'tchiket* 'the Lord' (PB.) = Chip. *debéndjigel*. The root, Cree *tipi* (Mass. *tápi*, Del. *tepi*) means 'enough,' 'sufficient'; whence Chip. *debisi* 'he has enough, is satisfied,' Mass. *tapantam* 'enough-minded,' 'content,' and *tapenum* 'he is able,' i. e. suffices for &c. Chip. *dibaan* 'he pays (i. e. satisfies) for it,' *dibawan* 'he pays for him,' *dibéndan* 'he is the owner of (i. e. has paid for) it,' intrans. *dibéndjige*. *Ootchitchipayu* (*oocheche-paiyu*, v. 20) 'it comes hither (*payu*) from (*ootche*)' somewhere else; comp. *wáthow óoche ne-peyitootán* "far-off-from I hither-come" (H. 289): Chip. *nind ondji-ba* 'I come from'; but the form which is here given to the verb cannot be the correct one.

3. 'As thou-so-willest may it hereafter be-done here on-earth which so is in-the-great-heaven': in v. 19, 'as-much-as is-observed thy [?] in-the-great-heaven, may-it be so

* The future sign *gü* (Chip. *kah*) used before the first and second persons, is changed into *kuttá* (*ga-tá*), Chip. *tah*, before the third person, sing. and plural."

—Howse, 214.

on-earth.' *E* (*hê*, H.) 'as.' *Net'itaye'ten* 'I will' (Matt. viii. 3), is here in the subj. 2d sing.; Chip. *nind inéndam*, *enéndaman*. *Ota* (*o-tê*, H.; *u-te*, v. 22) 'here.' *Āskíkh* (*uskee'k*, v. 20, *astshitsh*, v. 22) with locative affix from *aski* 'earth': in vv. 18, 19, *waskitaskamik* 'on the surface (*wúskitch*, H.) of the earth' = Chip. *ogidakamig*. *Ká*, the relative pronoun — or what is made to serve as such — used only with the subjunctive. [With the indicative, *ká* is a negative, or rather, is employed to emphasize a negation, and it is also a sign of the *future tense*.]

4. 'Give-us now on-this day and henceforth our-living'; in v. 19, 'our loaves of bread'; in v. 20, 'our loaf-bread-ing.' *Miyindán*, Montagn. *mirinan* (vv. 21, 22), 'give thou us,' or 'present to us' — the root not implying, nor in fact being ordinarily used to denote, *free* giving, i. e. without anticipation of recompense: Chip. *nin mina* "I give him, make him a present, allow him something, impose it upon him" &c. (Bar.), *nin pagidina* "I give it to him absolutely," literally, 'I throw it away, or abandon it to him': comp. Abn. *ne-míra*", *ne-piswímira*" (*piswí* 'freely,' 'to no purpose'); and another Chip. verb, from the same root (*mí* 'apart,' Lat. *dis*-, nearly,) *nin migiwe* 'I give, contribute, present, allow,' Mass. *magou* 'he gives, parts with, barter, or sells' (El.), Del. *mēken* (Zeisb.). *Pimátisiyákh* 'what we may live on'? (comp. *meecheyáik* 'what you may eat,' *meecheha'hk* 'what we may eat,' Matt. 6. 25, 31), from *pimatissu* 'he is alive,' i. e. *moves*, *goes*, subj. *pimatisit* (*pimahtisseyit*, Matt. 22. 32) 'living'; *pemahtissewin* "any thing that promotes life" (Chappell): comp. *pimoo'ta* 'walk,' Matt. 9. 5, *pemootayoo* "he walks, progresses" (H.). 'To live' is expressed in all Algonkin languages by one or the other of two verbs, denoting, respectively, 'to go,' and 'to be a man.' In vv. 18, 19, 20, 23 (Alg.), 25 and 26 (Chip.), 28 (Ottawa), and 31 (Menom.), we have different forms of the same name for 'bread' — Chip. *pakwejigan* — which was a name given by the Indians to French or English loaves, made to be cut in pieces, in distinction from the common Indian cake. Baraga employed this name for 'bread' in his Ottawa version, in 1846, but

in his Otchipwe Dictionary (1853) gives its exact meaning: "When Indians first saw white people cutting pieces off from a loaf of bread, they called the bread *pakwéjigan*, that is to say, a thing from which pieces are cut off": from *nin pakwéjige* 'I cut off a piece'; comp. verb anim. *nin pakwéjwa* 'I circumcise him'; *nin pakwéjan* 'I cut it,' &c. (Bar.).

5. 'Moreover blot-out-for-us our badnesses-of-heart so as we-may-blot-out-to (pardon) those who do-amiss-to-us.' *Käisi* . . . *ekosi* (v. 18), *gà isse* . . . *ec'co'se* (H.), 'as . . . just so.' *Mină, menah*, 'and, again' (H. 242), Chip. *minawa* 'again, more, anew' (Bar.), Abn. *mina* 'encore' (R.). *Ase-namawinân* (*usainumowinahn*, v. 20) 'forgive us'; comp. Chip. *gässiamawan* 'he blots him out, absolves, pardons him,' and *kasinamawakitwaw* 'absolve us' (v. 18). In all the versions this verb in the second clause has the transition form of 3d ~1st pl. subjunctive instead of 1st~3d pl., and means 'they forgive us'—instead of 'we forgive them.' *Ne-matchi'tiwininána* 'our badnesses of heart,' 1st pers. double plural of *matchi'tiwin*, verbal from *matchi'tai*, Chip. *matchidé* 'he has a bad heart, is wicked,' from *matchi* 'bad' and *-dé* (in compos.) 'heart.' In v. 20, a word meaning 'debts,' 'our owings,' is used,—the double plural of *mussinahikawin*, literally, 'a writing' (as in Matt. 5. 31) or 'book account.' *Aniki, unekee* (Chip. *igiw, egewh*) 'those,' anim. plur. of *unnă* (Chip. *iwi, aw*). *Wanitotakowyákik*, lit. 'they who amiss-do-to-us: *wan-*, as a prefix, means 'out of the way,' 'astray,' 'amiss' (Mass. *wanne*): *ke-wannaytootowwow* "you do not use him well," Chappell.

6. 'Moreover do-not that-we-go into trial.' The last word, from a root meaning 'to make trial of' (see *qutchhuaongan-îi*, v. 10), is substituted in v. 20b. for *wahyāseechekawin-ik*, v. 20, 'that we err' or 'go astray.'

7. 'But take-away-from-us bad anything.' *Tákwa-num* 'he grasps, holds it' (H. 93), has the prefix *mi* 'apart,' 'away from.' The primary *takwa*-, Chip. *tako-*, means 'held fast,' 'seized.' *Kakwai* (*kékwan*, H. 189; Chip. *gégo*) 'something, anything,' indef. pronoun.

8. 'Thou, thine-is great property (possession, riches), likewise strong-heartedness, moreover (glory?), Always more-yet

always.' *Net-ahyahn* (Matt. 20. 15) 'is mine'; *keyah ket-ahyahn* (v. 20), *kéthha ket'íán* (H.), Chip. *kin kid'aím*, 'it is thine.' *Otenawiwin*, Chip. *daniwin*, 'what one owns, property, having or holding.' *Wáwáts*, *wáuwauj* (H.) 'likewise.' *Sow'ká-tesi-win* 'strong-heartedness'; *sōk-issu* 'he is very strong, firm in mind, determined' (H. 175), *sōketay-áyoo* 'he is strong-hearted, bold' (H. 144; Chip. *songidee*); whence, anim. adj. *sōketay-issu*, *sow'kátesi*, and verbal in *-win*. *Mami'tchimikowin* for 'glory,' appears to be related to Chip. *mamik-wadam* 'he praises,' *mamikwadan* 'he glories in it' (Bar.).

20(c). CREE.

WESTERN COAST OF HUDSON'S BAY.

Archdeacon Hunter's translation, in Howse's orthography. [Pronounce "a as in *far*; á as in *father*; ð as in *all*, *awe*; e as in *me*; è as in *fate*; i, before a vowel or final, as in *mine*; í, before a consonant, as in *pin*; o as in *so*; oo as in *moon*; u final as in *pure*, or as the pronoun *you*; ai as in *fair*; ay as in *may*."—Howse Gr. 38.]

N'ootáweenan kéche kéésikook¹ íayán (or, í-i-an):

1. Kúttā we kekatethitaikwan² ke-wetháyowin.
2. Ke-tipayichikewin kúttā we óochechepeyoo³.
3. Hè itethetúmmun kúttā we tóochegatáyoo⁴ ótè assiskeek kà ísse i-àk keche kéésikook.
4. Méethinan annóoch kà kéésikàk ke ootche pimátisiyák.
5. Ménā kāssemaywinnán ne-mútchitiwinenána⁵ kà ísse kāssemaywakaitchik⁶ únnekee kà wanitootákooyákik.
6. Ménā egàwéthā itóotàyinān kootayitoowinik.
7. Mógga mitakwenamawinnán mútche kékwan⁷.
8. Kéthā ket'íán kéche ootenaywiwin, wáuwauj sóketaysiwin, ménā mahmechemikoowin⁸, kōkekáy ménā kōkékay.

Emen.

I have not found any version of the Lord's Prayer in the dialect of the Hudson's Bay Crees, as exhibited in Howse's Grammar; but to facilitate reference to that grammar, for verbal forms, I have attempted to *transliterate* Archdeacon Hunter's version, to Howse's orthography.

¹ For *keesik* 'sky,' Chappell's vocabulary* has *keshich*, and *keshicow* for 'day.' Howse remarks that "on the coast, *sh* is

* Vocabulary of the Indians inhabiting the western shores of Hudson's Bay, in Appendix to Lieut. Edward Chappell's *Voyage to Hudson's Bay* (London, 1817).

used for *s* of the interior" (Gr. 38), but he more commonly writes *s* : e. g. *móosuk* 'always,' for *mooschuk*, Chappell.

² *We* requires the optative or *subjunctive* passive participle — which, according to Howse, terminates, when the subject of the verb is inanimate, in *-ák* or *-áik* (Gr. 115, 228). The form given in v. 20 is that of the *indicative* passive inanimate, in *-wun* (Gr. 115).

^{3,4} These verbs seem likewise to have the form of the *indicative* (animate) instead of the required conditional (inanimate); *-ów*, *-oo* for *-ák* or *-áik*. *Ootchichipayu* seems to be compounded of *óoche* (Chip. *ondji*, Mass. *wutche*) 'from' and the primary verb 'to come,' but it is irreconcilable with any form given by Howse; see note on v. 20b.

⁵ Howse has both *mútch-issu* 'he is wicked,' and *mathát-issu* 'he is bad.' The last means 'bad-hearted'; see note on v. 20b. *Mútche*, primarily, denotes that which is externally bad, ugly, unpleasant, e. g. *mútche kéésikàk* 'an ugly day' (H. 294).

⁶ The transition form is wrong: *-aitchik* (*-átchik*, Howse), is 3d~3d pers. pl. subjunctive (required after *kà isse*), 'they . . . to them,' instead of 1st~3d pl. in *-eetwów* 'we . . . to them' (Howse, 217).

⁷ *Mútche kekwan* 'bad something,' whatever is bad; but Howse would probably write instead, *gà mathatissik* 'that which is bad.'

⁸ I transfer this word for 'glory' as it stands in v. 20,—in uncertainty as to its meaning.

21. MONTAGNAIS.

(NEAR QUEBEC.)

Father Enm. Massé, in Champlain's *Voyages*, 1632*. In transcription, *oo* has been substituted for *ou* of the original text.

Nootacoynan ca tayen oascoopetz :

1. Kit-ichenicassóuin sagitaganióísit.
2. Pita ki-coitapimacoo agoóé kit-oóténats.

* Father Enmond Massé, S. J. came to Port Royal in 1611, with Biard, and for a year or two prosecuted the study of the Souriquois (Micmac) language. When the French post at St. Sauveur was broken up by Capt. Argal, Massé returned to France. He came back in 1625, and labored among the Algonkins and Montagnais, near Quebec, till 1629, when the town was taken by the English. See Shea's *Am. Catholic Missions*, 134.

3. Pita kikitoin tootaganicoísit assitz, ego coascóoptz.
4. Mirinan cocachigatz nimitchiminan, coechté teoöch.
5. Gayez choerimécoinan ki maratirinisitā agoóé coechté ni chouerimananet ca kichioahiamitz.
6. Gayeu ega pemitacoinan machicacointan espich nekirak inaganicoiaco.
7. Miatau cancoeriminan eapech.
Pita.

Interlined translation:

"Nostre père qui es és-Cieux: ¹ Ton-nom soit-en-estime. ² Ainsi soit-que nous-soyons-avec toi en ton-royaume. ³ Ainsi- soit-que ton-commandement soit-fait en-la-terre comme au-Ciel. ⁴ Donne-nous aujourd'huy nostre-nourriture comme tousiours. ⁵ Et aye-pitié-de-nous si nous-t'avons offensé ainsi-que nous-avons-pitié-de-ceux qui nous-ont-donné-sujet-de-nous-fascher. ⁶ Aussi ne nous-permets t'offenser lors-que nous y-serons induits. ⁷ Mais conserve-nous tousiours. Ainsi- soit."

The tribes called, by the French, *Montagnais* and *Montagnars*, spoke a Cree dialect. The local idiom of this version is that of the neighborhood of Quebec. (The mission at Tadoussac, near the mouth of the Saguenay was not established till 1641.) In the *Relation de la Nouvelle France* for 1634 (Quebec ed., p. 76), are two prayers in this dialect, with interlinear translations, by Father Paul Le Jeune, who has given, in the same Relation (pp. 48-50), a good account of "la Langue des Sauvages Montagnais"; and a few Montagnais words and phrases are found in Le Jeune's Relation for 1633 and (mixed with Algonkin, of Sillery,) in Vimont's for 1643.

N'otawi 'my father'; *n'otáwenán* (H. 187) is the form with the plural pronoun, 'our father.' *Ca* = "ká or gá, an indeclinable particle, representing, in Cree and Chippeway, the relative pronoun, referring to a definite antecedent" (H. 189). *Ouascoupetz*, here, and in the versions of the Creed and the Salutation, Massé puts for "es cieux"; *ouascouptz* (as in 3d petition) for "au ciel." Le Jeune gives *ouascou* for 'heaven,' and in the locative, *ouascou-eki* 'in heaven,' = *uas-kutsh*, v. 22.

1. *Sagitaganiwísit*, which Massé translates by "soit en estime," is from a verb which is usually translated by 'to love': comp. "*khi-sadkihitin* je t'aime" (Le J.); subj. *sáhke-hittán* "that I love thee" (H. 220): *sákechegátáyoo* 'it is loved,' *sákechegàsoo* 'he is loved' (H. 227, 116). The form

here given is not exactly correct; in later versions, another verb is substituted (see v. 20).

2. *Pita* = *pittane* 'would that!' (H. 243), *pitane* (v. 18), requires the subjunctive or additional mood of the following verb. *Kiwiŋtapimaco* 'we sit with thee'; comp. *ne-wétáppēmów* 'I sit with (co-sit) him,' H. 129. *Kit-oténats* 'in thy village,' from *otena* (Chip. *odéna*, Mass. *otan*) 'village, town,' lit. the place to which one belongs.

3. *Ki-kitwin* 'thy saying,' 'what thou sayest': comp. *khik-hitouina* 'thy words,' Le J. *Toganiŋwisit* for 'be it done,' but the form employed denotes the action of an *animate* subject on an *inan.* object. *Assitch*, for *astitch*, 'on earth'; *asti* (= Cree *uskee*) 'earth,' with the locative suffix which is used in this version; comp. *ouascope-tz*, *otena-ts*, *ocachiga-tz*.

3. *Mirinan* = *mi'inan*, v. 18. *Oucachigatz* 'on this day,' 'to-day,' = *oukachiga-khi* (Le J.), *ukashigatsh* (v. 22), Cree *kakijikak*, *kakisikak*, vv. 18, 19. *Ou-mitchimi* 'food,' *khi-mitchimi* 'thy food' (Le J., 1634); here, in the first person plural, *ni-mitchim-inan* 'our food.'

5. *Gaycz* = *gaié* (Le J.) 'and': see note on v. 10. *Chweri-minan* 'have mercy on us'; Chip. *nin jawénima* (with *inan.* obj., *jawéndán*) 'I have mercy on,' lit. 'I am kindly disposed towards' him, or it.* *Ki* (*ké*, H.) 'if,' 'whether — or not.' *Maratirini-*, comp. Chip. *nin mánadenima* "I think he is bad, wicked" (Bar.), *mánádad* "it is bad, unpleasant, unfit" (id.): the root signifies 'improper,' 'unseemly'; 'not to be done, or said.' *Agwé* (*cou*, Le J., Cree *écco*) 'thus, so as.' *Ca kichiŋwahiamitz* (*tsishiuāiamitjits*, v. 22) 'those who make us angry'; Cree *kissewā-su* 'he is angry,' *kissewā-hayoo* 'he makes him angry' (H. 40, 167).

* The Algonkin name for the 'south' or 'south-west,' — whence the denomination of 'southern' tribes, variously corrupted as "Chaonanons," Shawanos, Shawnees, Savanoes, Chawonocks, etc., — comes from the same root as Chip. *jawen-dan*. Comp. Narr. *soiwanishen* 'the wind is from the south-west': "This (says Roger Williams, *Key*, 86,) is the *pleasingest*, warmest wind in the Climate, most desired of the Indians, making fair weather ordinarily; and therefore they have a tradition, that to the south-west, which they call *Sowanü*, the gods chiefly dwell, and hither the souls of all their great and good men and women go." To the Indian, *sowan-auki* was, primarily, 'the pleasant country,' 'happy land,' and *sowananiŋou* ("Sowanánd, the southern God," R. W.) was 'the kind, beneficent, *manitou*.'

6. *Ega* (*eg'â* and *ithka*, H.; Abn. *é'kwi*) 'do not'; *ecco touté* 'do not do it' (Le J.) = *egà toota*, H. *Pemitawinan* 'conduct us to' (inan. object). *Espich* = Cree *ispéese* (H.), *ispee'che* (Matt.), 'when, whilst.'

7. *Canweriminan* 'take care of us'; Chip. *nin ganawenima* 'I keep, take care of him.' *Eapech* 'always,' *eapitch*, Le J.

22. MONTAGNAIS.

SAGUENAY RIVER AND LAKE ST. JOHN.

Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan. Uabistiguiatsh (i. e. Quebec), 1767.

N'uttquinan, tshir uaskutsh ka taien:

1. Tshitshituaueritaganusiuin tshitshinikasuin.
2. He nogusiuane pitta taiats.
3. Tshi pamittagauin nete uaskutsh, pitta gaie pamittaganien u-te astshitsh.
4. Anutsh ukashigatsb mirinan ni mitshimiminan, meshutsh gaie kashigatsh mirinan.
5. Nama nigut nititeritenan aniets ka tshi tshishiuaiamitjits, eka gaie tshir nigut iteriminan ka tshishiuaitats.
6. Eka irinauinan ka ui sagutshihiguiats he iarimatjs.
7. Tiaguetsh ui irinikahinan metshikauatjs maskuskamatsi. Egu inusin.

The *Nehiro-Iriniui Aiamihe Massinahigan* (Montagnais Prayer Book) was prepared by Father J. B. de la Brosse, S. J., who in 1766 succeeded Father Cocquart in the missions at Tadoussac, on the Saguenay, and about Lake St. John. In the approbation (by Bishop Briant) prefixed to the volume, the compiler's name appears in its Montagnais form as *Tshitshisahigan*, i. e. 'the broom' (la brosse). The title page shows that the manual was designed for all the praying Indians "who live at Shatshegu, Mitinekapi, Iskuamisku, Netskeka [Lake Nitcheguan?], Mishtassini ['the great rock,' on the river of that name, between Lake St. John and Hudson's Bay], Shekutimi [now, Chicoutimi, near Lake St. John], Ekuani [Agwanus, on the St. Lawrence?], Ashuabmushuani [now Assuapmouson, one of the King's Posts, in Saguenay county], and Piakuagami [Picontimi, on Lake St. John], and all Nehiro-Irinui places, every where."*

* For the use of this rare volume—reputed to be the first book printed at Quebec—I am indebted to Mr. George Brinley.

The differences of dialect between this and the preceding version are less considerable than they appear on first inspection. That the two have so few words and forms in common indicates, not the inconstancy of the language, but the progress made between 1632 and 1766 in knowledge of its vocabulary and grammar. The most striking peculiarity of dialect is the change of *k* to *tsh*; e. g. *tshir* for *kir* ('thou') in the invocation; *tshitshi* for *kitchi* 'great'; *astshitsh* for *uskeek* 'on earth,' etc. Howse (Gr. 316) quotes a remark that "on the East-main side of Hudson's Bay, *t(ch)* is in general used in the pronunciation of words instead of the *k* (or *c* hard) used on the West side of the Bay, as *tchissinow* for *kissinow* 'it is cold (weather),' *tché-y-a* for *kéthà* 'thou.'"

La Brosse writes *u* for Fr. *ou*: *n'uttawinan* for *noutaouynan* of Massé, *uaskutsh* for *ouascoueki* of Le Jeune, *tshit'ishinika-suin* for *kit'ichenicassóuin*.

'Our-father thou in-heaven who art-there: It-is-made-very-great (honorable) thy-name.' With *tshitshitua-ueritaguanusin*; comp. Chip. *kitchitwa-wendagwad* 'it is honored, holy,' and causat. anim. *nin kitchitwa-wendagosia* 'I make him glorious, honored, exalted,' etc. (Bar.).

3. 'As-thou-art-served yonder-in heaven, would-that also thou-mayest-be-served here-in earth.' 4. 'Now to-day give-thou-us our food, always also daily give-thou-us-it.' *Kashigatsh* = western Cree *kesikahk* (v. 20); *meshutsh* = *mōsūk* (Howse), *mooschuk* (Chappell).

23. ALGONKIN (NIPISSING).

LAKE OF THE TWO MOUNTAINS.

Catechisme Algonquine, Moniang (Montreal), 1865.* [The vowels as in French: *e* as *é*; *o* for *ou* and (before a vowel) Engl. *w*; *ch* as Engl. *sh*; *g* always hard.]

Oonidjanisimiang, coakcoing epian:

1. Kekona kitchitōacoidjikatek kit ijinikazōoin.
2. Kekona pitchijamagak ki tebeningecoin.

* The same version, with a French translation, is printed in *Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages*, par l'Auteur des *Études Philologiques* (2me éd. Montreal, 1869), p. 100. It is also printed in a R. C. *Recueil de Prières*, "à l'usage des Sauvages de *Temiscaming*, d'*Abbitibi*, du *Grand Lac*, de *Matawan*, et du *Fort William*," published (by authority of the Vicaire-General) at Montreal, 1866.

3. Kekona iji papamitagon aking engi coakcooing.
4. Ni pakoejiganiminan neningokijik eji mauesiâng mijichinam nongom ongajigak.
5. Gaie iji coanisitamaoichinam inikik nechkiinang eji coanisitamaoangitch acoia ka nichkiiamindjin.
6. Gaie kacoin pakitenimichikangen kekon ooa pachicoinigoiangin ;
7. Taiagwoatch atchitch ininamaoichinam maianatak.
Kekona ki ingi.

Translation :

"Toi qui nous as pour enfants, au ciel qui es, ¹qu'il soit dit saint ton nom, ²qu'il arrive ton règne, ³qu'ainsi tu sois obéi sur la terre comme c'est dans le ciel. ⁴Notre pain chaque jour comme nous en avons besoin, donne le nous aujourd'hui. ⁵Et ainsi oublie pour nous ce en quoi nous te fâchons comme nous oublions pour quelqu'un qui nous a fâchés. ⁶Et ne nous abandonne pas quelque chose qui va nous séduire ; ⁷au contraire de côté écarte pour nous ce qui est mal. Qu'il en puisse être ainsi."

The *Catechisme Algonquin* from which this version is taken was prepared for the use of the few Algonkins who still remain at the mission village of the Lake of the Two Mountains, near the western extremity of the Island of Montreal. This mission was established by the Sulpitians in 1720, and to it was soon afterwards transferred a Nipissing and Algonkin mission which had been begun on the Isle aux Tourtes.*

The dialect is not precisely that which the first Canadian missionaries — because it was the first which they learned, of the many local dialects spoken along Ottawa river and westward to the great lakes — regarded as "franc Algonquin." The Jesuits reckoned "more than thirty nations" of the Upper Algonkins,† all speaking the same language, with no greater diversity of dialect than may be found in the speech of Englishmen of different counties, or between Parisian and provincial French. Baraga's "Otchipwe Grammar" and "Dictionary of the Otchipwe Language" are as serviceable for the study of one as of another of these dialects. "Several other tribes," he says, "speak the same [Otchipwe, or Chippeway] language, with little alterations. The principal of these are the *Algonquin*, the *Ottawa*, and the *Potawatami* tribes. He that understands well the Otchipwe language will easily converse with Indians of these tribes" (Otch. Gr. 5).

* Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 333, 334.

† Relations, 1658, p. 22 ; 1670, p. 78.

The modern "Algonquin" of the mission of the Lake is, in fact, nearly identical with the *Nipissing*,—differing somewhat from the dialect spoken at the same mission, in the last century. A *Cantique en langue Algonquine*, composed by a former missionary, M. Mathevet, has been lately printed, with a version in the modern (Nipissing) dialect, and notes, by the author of *Études Philologiques* (M. Cuoq).^{*} In Mathevet's orthography, *l* is used in the place of *n* of the modern dialect, but the editor remarks that "in the most ancient manuscripts, *r* has the preference." Where the original version has *tch*, the modern substitutes *dj*,—*ondjita* for *ontchita*, *wendji* for *ontchi*, etc., but M. Cuoq suggests that "the *Algonquin dialect which formerly prevailed at the mission of the Lake*" may have required the *tch*: but "il en serait autrement aujourd'hui qu'a prévalu le dialecte *Nipissingue*."

Oenidjanisimiang 'thou who hast us as thy children,' whose children we are. *Nidjanis* 'child' (as related to the parent), 'offspring'; *o-nidjanis-i* 'he has a child' (JE.† 81), the prefix *o* denoting possession or 'having.' The conditional (or, as it is distinguished by the author of *Études Philologiques*, the "éventuel") mood changes *o-* to *œ-* and with the transition of 2 sing.~1 pl. gives *œ-nidjanisi-mi-ang* 'thou who hast us children.' This synthesis is one of the many by which missionaries have sought to define the fathership of God and to avoid the ascription of *natural* paternity. The objection to this is, that its root is immediately suggestive of natural paternity: comp. Mass. *neese*, *neesh* 'two,' *neechau* 'she gives birth to a child, is delivered,' *neechan*, pl. *neechanog*, 'issue,' 'offspring,' 'children,' *wun-neechan-oh* 'his children' (El.); Chip. *nij* 'two,' *nigian* 'she gives birth to' (an infant), *onidjani* 'the female of any animal,' *nind'onidjanissi* 'I have a child or children,' *onidjanissima* (pass.) 'he is had for a child,' &c. *Wakwi* (*wakmi*) 'heaven' is marked by Baraga as an *Ottawa* name (comp. vv. 24 and 28): perhaps related to *wakami* 'it is clear,' 'bright'; perhaps to *Montagn*.

^{*} "Études Philologiques sur quelques Langues Sauvages de l'Amérique; par N. O., ancien missionnaire." (Montreal, 1866.) See page 9, ante.

† "Jugement Erroné de M. Ernest Renan sur les Langues Sauvages, par l'auteur des *Études Philologiques*," 2me ed. refondue. Montreal, 1869.

was̄kō (vv. 21, 22). *Epian* (*ébian*, Bar.) from *api* "to be there, to be present, to be seated" (JE. 67).

1. *Kekona*, a "conjunction optatif," which Cuq translates by "plaise à Dieu que." *Kitchitōawidjikatek* 'it be spoken in honor'; Chip. *kitchi* 'great, pre-eminent,' *kitchitwa* 'honorable, holy, saint' (Bar.): comp. Montagn. v. 22. *Ijinikazōwin* 'so-calling,' name; so, Chip. vv. 24, 26, 27; Montagn. *ishinikasuin* (v. 22), Pota. *ishnukas'wan* (v. 30), Blkf. 'tzinnekazen.

2. *Pitchijamagak* 'it may come here,' subj. 3d pers.: the root *pi* denotes 'coming to' the speaker; *pitchija* (Chip. *bi-ija* and *bidjija*) 'he comes here'; *pitchijamagat* (*bidjijamagad*) 'it comes here' = Mass. *peyaumō*. *Tibeningewin* (*dibendjigewin*, Bar.) 'mastery, ownership'; (see v. 20b, and note).

3. *Iji . . . engi*, 'so as . . . so be it.' *Papamitagon* "thou mayest be obeyed," — so M. Cuq translates, but *-gon* is the termination of the *indicative* present (see paradigms in Et. Phil. 58, 59, and Bar. Gr. 229); the subjunctive 2d sing. terminates in *-goian*: Chip. *ki babamitago* 'thou art obeyed,' *o babamitagon* 'he is obeyed,' subj. *babamitagoian* 'if (or, as &c.) thou art obeyed,' or 'thou mayest be obeyed.'

4. *Pakwējigan* (Chip. *pakwējigan*) "a thing from which pieces are cut off"; see Cree version 20b, and note. By the first Algonkin converts, this must have been understood as a petition for French bread. But *pakwējigani-minan* (Chip. *-minag*) means 'loaf-bread grain,' i. e. *wheat*, as distinguished from *manda-minag* 'Indian corn.' The author of *Jugement Erroné* (p. 69, note) regards the final *-minan* as the mark of the progressive, 'our bread,' but Baraga is unquestionably correct, as it seems to me, in referring it to the generic *min*, pl. *minan* and *minak*, 'grain.' If the *m* of *minan* marks the possessive, the petition is for 'bread which is (already) ours,' — not that bread may be given us. *Neningokijik* ("each day," JE.), means 'once a day,' Chip. *neningo-gijig*; comp. *neningo gisiss* 'once a month' (Bar.). *Eji manesiāng* 'when so we want'; *iji* 'so' takes the vowel-change of the conditional mood: *manesiāng* is the subj. 1st pl. of anim.-intrans. *manési* 'he wants, needs,' from *mané* "signifying *want*, *scarcity*" (Bar.) — and that, from *mán*, *mána*, "in compos.,

bad." *Mijichinam* 'give thou us,' imptv. 2d s.~1st pl. of *ní mina* 'I give to (him)', 'I part with it, or put it from me, to (him)', the root *mi* denoting 'away from,' 'apart' (see Cree v. 20b, note); it is one of a class of verbs which, in the transition to 1st person objective, changes *n* to *j* (Bar. Gr. 242). *Nongom* 'now, presently.' *On-gajigak* 'in this day,' or 'while this day is'; Chip. *gajigak*, the conditional form (participle, Bar.) of *gijigad* 'it is day'; Mass. *kesukok*, Cree *kisikokh*: the prefix *on* is demonstrative, 'this here.'

5. *Gaie* (Mass. *kah*) 'also,' "is ordinarily put *after* the word that is connected by it to another word, like the Latin *que*" (Bar. 489), and probably should *always* be so placed. "So forget-thou-to-us the things which we-make-thee-angry as we-forget-to-them anybody who may have made-us-angry." *Wanisitam* 'he loses it from mind,' 'forgets it,' but the verb is out of place in this petition: the prefix *wani* "in composition signifies *mistake, error*" (Bar.), primarily, 'going out of the way,' 'going astray,' and always implies something 'amiss,' or *undesirable* loss: Chip. *nin wania* "I lose him, I miss him"; *nin wanéndama* "I lose my senses, I faint," *nin wanisse* "I mistake, I commit a blunder," *wanissin* "it gets lost," *wanisid manito* "unclean spirit, devil" (Bar.), Mass. *wanne wahteóe* "without knowledge," *wanneheont* 'one who loses, a loser,' &c. (El.). *Nichki-* (Chip. *nishki-*) in compos. 'angry [primarily, 'troubled,' 'disturbed,' 'roiled,'—whence, in the eastern dialects, numerous derivatives taking the meaning of 'foul,' or 'unclean': Mass. *nishkenon* (Del. *niskelaan*, Chip. *niskádad*) 'bad, dirty weather,' Del. *nisk'su* "nasty" (Zeisb.), Mass. *nishkheau* 'he defiles (him),' &c.]: *ni nichki-a* 'I make him angry, offend him'; subj. 1 pl.~2 sing. *nechki-iang* 'if we . . . thee'; passive, "eventual" mood, preterit, 1 pl.~3s. *ka nechki-iamindjin* 'in case that we have *been* . . . by him,' i. e. 'that he has . . . us' [Cuoq, 66, 58]; Baraga does not recognize this "eventual" mood, in the Chippeway, but makes the termination *-djin*, or *-nidjin*, the characteristic of the participle of the *second* third person ("obvialif" of Cuoq), i. e. the object of a verb whose *subject* is already in the 3d person or objective to the speaker, Bar. Gr. 152. This

regime of second 3d person and *third* 3d person ("sur-obviatif") is one of the most curious features of Algonkin grammar: see Baraga's Grammar, 72-77, 327-8, Et. Phil. 43, 73. In the phrase, "Joseph took the young child and *his* mother (*μητέρα αὐτοῦ*)", the Algonkin distinguishes, by special inflections, the *first*, *second*, and *third* 3d persons, "Joseph," "child," and "mother." In 'John gave Peter his stick to beat his brother's son,' the first noun only is in the third person *direct*; both verbs and the four nouns must receive, respectively, the "obviatif" and "sur-obviatif" inflections. Mr. Howse pointed out, though not very clearly, this distinction, in the Cree language, between the "principal or leading" and the "dependent or accessory" third persons, and gave many examples of its use (Cree Gr., 125, 265-275). Bishop Baraga and, more recently, the author of *Études Philologiques* (l. c.) have shown the important place it fills in the grammatical structure of the Chippeway and Algonkin.* Eliot, in his version of the Bible, employed these accessory forms of noun and verb, but did not mention them in his Indian Grammar.

6. *Kawin* (Chip. *ka*, *kawin*) 'not': see Del. *katschi*, v. 17, note. *Pakitenimichikangen* is from a verb meaning 'to let go,' 'to put away,' 'to abandon.' The form here employed seems to be that of the imperat. future, and the intended meaning: 'do not leave to us': comp. Baraga's vv. 24, 28. *Kekon*, pl. (or perhaps the obviative singular, which is of the same form as the plural) of *keko* (*gégo*, Bar.) 'something.' *Oa-pachiwinigoiangin*, translated "va nous séduire"; *oa* prefixed to a verb signifies that the action is 'about to be' or 'on the point of being' performed (Cuoq, 78): *pachi* is the conditional form of *pitchi*, which marks the action of the verb as amiss, improper, or of unfavorable result (JE. 101; Chip.

* The Eskimo language has a double third person, as Egede (*Grönl. Gram.* 113) pointed out. The principal and subordinate are distinguished by suffixes, *a* and *e*; the latter is employed whenever the object *belongs to* the subject of the verb: *kitorñâ turnivâ* 'he gave it to his (another person's) child,' *kitorne turnivâ* 'he gave it to his (own) child'; *arka taivâ* 'he called his (another's) name,' *arke taivâ* "he called his (own) name." See Kleinschmidt's *Grammatik d. grönl. Sprache* (Berlin, 1851), §§ 33, 72 ff., 103.

pitchi-, *pit*-, subj. *petchi*-, *pet*-, "gives the signification of *mis-take, accident, involuntary action*," Bar.): *winian* 'he defiles, dirties (him)', *winigon* 'it defiles me, makes me dirty, impure' (Bar.), *wa-pachi-winigoiangin* 'it may be (or, if it be) about to make me by mischance unclean'; the synthesis is ingenious, but its construction was uncalled for, unless to exhibit the resources of the language.

7. *Taiagowatch* "au contraire" is questionable Algonkin, though we find it in the (later) Montagnais version (22): Howse gives Cree *téakwuch*, "contrary to expectation" (Gr. 242): Baraga's Dictionary has no corresponding particle, and in his version (24), he has only *atchitchaiai* (Alg. *atchitch* "de côté") 'aside, away'; primarily, 'put aside.' *Ininaman* 'he presents it to, puts it before (him)'; comp. Chip. *ini-nan* 'he puts or presents it,' *inoan* 'he shows it, points it out,' *ini*- (prefixed) 'so, in this manner,' *iniw*, pl. demonstr., 'those there' (Bar.); here, in imperat. 2 sing. ~ 1 pl. 'put it to us.' *Maianatak*, participle conditional (eventual) of *manatat* 'it is bad': 'the evil which *may be*.'

24. CHIPPEWAY (SOUTHERN).*

Otchipwe Anamie-Masinaigan, by Rev. F. Baraga. (Paris, 1837.) Pronounce, *g* always hard; *j* as in Fr. *jour*; *dj* as Engl. *j*; *ch* as Engl. *sh*; *ng* as *ngk*; other consonants as in English: *a* as in *father*, *e* as in *net*, *i* as in *live*, *o* as in *bone*.

Nossinan *gijigong ebiiian*:

1. Apegich *kitchitwawendaming kit ijinikasowin*.
2. Wabaminagosian *apegich abiiang*.
3. Ki-babamitago *wedi gjigong; apegich gaie babamita-goian oma aking*.
4. Nongom *gijigak mijichinam gemidjiiang, misi gego gaie mijichinam*.
5. Bonigidetawichinam *gego gaiji nichkiigoian, eji bonigide-tawangid awia gego gaiji nichkiiiangidjin*.
6. Kinaamawichinam *wabatadiiangin*.
7. Atchitchaiai *ininamawichinam gego maianadak 'waodissikagoiangin. Minotawichinam*.

* Father (afterwards Bishop) Baraga was a missionary to the *Ottawas* at L'Arbre Croche and Grand River, on the east shore of Lake Michigan, from 1831 to 1841. In 1841, he began a new mission, to the *Chippeways* at Lapointe (Wisconsin) on Lake Superior, whence, after eight years' residence, he removed in 1849 to another Chippeway village at L'Anse, the head of Keewenaw Bay, Lake Superior. The dialects with which he was most familiar were those of the southern shore of Lake Superior, and the east shore of Lake Michigan.

Translated literally:

Our Father in-heaven who-sittest: ¹I wish-that they (*impers.*, *qn'on*)-regard-it-very-great thy name. ²When-thou-art-seen (*appearest*) I-wish that-we-may-re-main (*sit, be*).^{*} ³Thou-art-obeyed yonder in heaven; I-wish also thou mayest-be-obeyed here on earth. ⁴To-day give-thou-to us that-we-shall-eat, every thing also give-thou-us. ⁵Cease-thinking-to-us-of (*forgive-us*) something which has-so-made-thee angry (*offended thee*), as we cease-thinking-of-to anyone something(?) which-has-so-made-us-angry. ⁶Forbid (*or, hinder*)-us when-we-are-intending-to-do-wrong. ⁷Away put-from-us what (*something*) may-be-evil when-we-are-about-to-come-to-it. Be-pleased-to-hear-us.

25. CHIPPEWAY (NORTHERN).

From Rev. G. A. Belcourt's *Anamihe-Masinahigan* etc., Quebec, 1839.

N'össinān kitchi kijikong epiyan:

1. Appedach minātendjikātek ki winsowin.
2. Appedach otissikkāgemagak ki tibendjikewin.
3. Epitch papāmittakōyan kitchi kijikong, appedach gaye ohoma akking.
4. Nōngum kājigak mijichinām nim pakkwejiganiminān, endassokijigakkin gaye.
5. Wanendamawichinām ki matchitōtamang epitch wanendamowangitwa ka matchi-tōtawiyangitwa.
6. Keko ganabenimichikkang wa-matchi-aiindiyangin;
7. Ningotchi ininamawichinām mayānātakkin wetisikkāku-yangin. Appedach ing.

The Rev. G. A. Belcourt began an Indian mission on St. Boniface River, in 1833,† among the "Sautaux" or northern Chippeways. In 1839, he published *Principes de la Langue des Sauvages appelés Sautaux*, and, in the same year the little manual of devotion from which this version is taken.

The peculiarities of pronunciation which distinguish the speech of the northern Chippeways from that of the southern bands of the same nation are not so marked as to call for special notice. Baraga, in his "Ojchipwe Grammar," mentions only one or two particulars in which "the Indians of Grand Portage and other places north of Lake Superior have conserved the genuine pronunciation" of words and terminations that have been somewhat corrupted in southern dialects.

* The sense is not clear: "At thy appearance, may we be *here*?" In the Potawatomi version (31), the corresponding word is *piyak* (from *n'pia* 'I come'), 'thou mayest come to us'; but *abiāng* cannot have this meaning.

† Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 391.

Belcourt's notation agrees nearly with Baraga's, but for *ou* (ω) he writes *u*, — which, he says, is “always short.” The vowels which are not marked as *long* are pronounced short. I have substituted, for his *e*, the *ch* which it represents.

26. CHIPPEWAY (EASTERN).

MISSISSAUGA.

Rev. Peter Jones (Kahkewaquaonaby) in his *History of the Ojibway Indians*, p. 189.

Noo-se-non ish-pe-ming a-yah-yan :

1. Tuh-ge-che-e-nain-dah-gwud ke-de-zhe-ne-kah-ze-win.
2. Ke-doo-ge-mah-we-wiu tuh-be-tuh-gwe-she noo-muh-gud.
3. A-nain-duh-mun o-mah uh-keeng tuh-e-zhe-che-gaim, te-be-shkoo go a-zhe-uh-yog e-we-de ish-pe-ming.
4. Meen-zhe-she-nom noong-com kee-zhe-guk ka-o-buh-quazhe-gun-e-me yong.
5. Kuh-ya wa-be-nuh-muh-we-she-nom e-newh nim-bah-tah-e-zhe-wa-be-ze-we-ne-nah-nin, a-zhe ko wa-be-nuh-muh-wung-c-dwah e-gewh ma-je-doo-duh-we-yuh-min-ge-jig.
6. Ka-go ween kuh-ya uh-ne-e-zhe-we-zhe-she-kong-ain e-mah zhoo-be-ze-win-ing.
7. Mah-noo suh go ke-de-skee-we-ne-she-nom.
8. Keen mah ween ke-de-bain-don ewh o-ge-mah-we-win, kuh-ya ewh kuh-shke-a-we-ze-win, kuh-ya ewh pe-she-gain-dah-go-ze-win, kah-ge-nig kuh-ya kah-ge-nig.

Amen.

27. CHIPPEWAY.

From the New Testament, translated into the language of the Ojibwa Indians. (Am. Bible Society) 1856. Pronounce, *u* as in *father*, *e* as *u* in *fute*, *i* as in *machine*, *o* as in *note*, *ü* as in *but*: *oo*, before a consonant or final, as *oo* in *pool* or *u* in *full*, elsewhere as Engl. *w**; the consonants nearly as in English; *g* always hard; *ng* as *ngk*.

Nosinan ish-piming caiün :

1. Mano tükijitooænjigade ioo kidizhinikazoooin.
2. Kitogimaoiöoin tüpitügoishinomüğüt.
3. Enendümün tüizhiöebut oma aking, tibishko iöidi ish-piming.
4. Mizhishinam sü nongöom gizhigük ioo gemijiiang.
5. Gaie ööbinamöishinam inioo nimbataizhiöebizööoininain, ezhiööbinamöüngidöoa igioo mejitotaoüüngidjig.

* In the text from which I copy, *u* represents *oo* (in *pool*) and *w*, and the character *ü* is used for the neutral vowel, or — according to the Key — for Engl. *ü* in *but*.

6. Gaie kego ũniizhiċoizliishikangen ima gŭġoetibenintiooin-ing.
7. Mitagoenishinam dŭsh ċoin onji ima mŭjiaiiċoishing.
8. Kin ma kitibendan io ogimaċoioin, gaie io gŭshkieċoizioin, gaie bishigendagoozioin, kakinik apine go kakinik. Amen.

This version differs somewhat, particularly in the sixth and seventh petitions, from that which was printed in earlier editions of the Ojibwa Testament. In the Bible Society's impression of 1844, these petitions are as follows:

6. Kego gŭġoedibenimishikangen ningċoji jishobizhiiang;
7. Gaie mitagoenimacŋishinam mŭjiaiiċoishŭn.

In Luke xi. 4, the edition of 1856 follows that of 1844, except the insertion of a particle:

6. Kego ċoin gaie ũniizhiċoizhishikangen ningċoji jishobiziiang;
7. *Gaie* mitagoenimacŋishinam mŭjiaiiċoishŭn.

In the following notes I shall have occasion to refer to some of the earlier versions, especially to Baraga's of 1837 (v. 24) and to Peter Jones's, with his final revision (v. 26). John and Peter Jones were half-breeds, their mother being a Missisauga woman. Their version of the Gospel of St. John in the Chippeway tongue was printed for the British and Foreign Bible Society in 1831. Peter married an English woman, spoke and wrote the English language as well as the Chippeway, and was for many years the minister of a band of Chippeways on Credit River, seventeen miles west of Toronto, Canada. He was born near Burlington Bay, the western extremity of Lake Erie. Howse, whose Cree Grammar includes "an analysis of the Chippeway dialect," constantly cites, for Chippeway forms, Mr. Jones's translation of St. John, regarding it as his "foundation — a rock that cannot be shaken."*

Nosinan (*noo-se-non*, J., *n'ōssinān*, Belc.) = Mass. *nawshun*, 'our father'; an earlier Chippeway version, by Peter Jones,

* It was adopted, after revision, by the Am. Bible Society, in the first issue of the *Ojibwa Testament*, its orthography having been conformed to Mr. Pickering's system (with some modification). The other gospels and the Acts of the apostles were translated for this Testament by George Copway (Kah-ge-ga-gah-bowh, a

has *waosemegoyun* = *weóssimigoiàn* of Baraga, 'thou who art had for (regarded as) a father,' particip. subj. 2d sing. of *nind'óóssimigo* 'I am had for a father'; 3d pers., *weossimind* (Bar.), *wayóosemungid* (J.) 'who is father,' 'the Father,' "who is fathered" (Howse, 22). *Ispeming*, Cree *espmík*, Abn. *spemkik*, Moh. *spummuck* (v. 13), 'on high.' *Eaiün* (*ayáhyān*, J.) 'thou who art there' (see Abn. *aiian*, *ēian*, vv. 7, 9; Moh. *oieon*, v. 13); in v. 24, *ebiian* 'thou who remainest.'

1. *Tū-kijitwa-wenjigade* 'be it regarded holy (greatest),' imperat. 3 sing. of impers. verb *kijitwa-wenjigade*, from *kijitwa* (*kitchitwa*, Bar.) 'of chief regard, greatest, honorable, holy': see Alg. v. 23; *tū* (*ta*, *da*, Bar.) is the sign of the future and the imperative. *Māno* means "well, that's right, no matter, let it be so" (Bar.); it is nearer to the Fr. *très bien* than to the Lat. *utinam* for which it is improperly used here: Baraga, v. 24, has *apegich kitchitwawendaming* 'I wish it may be regarded very great (honorable, holy),' *apegich* (*-ish*) "corresponding exactly to Lat. *utinam*" (Bar.), and the verb is from the intrans. inan. and impers. form, *kitchitwawendam*, in the subj. participle. Jones, v. 26, prefers *tuhgecheēnaindahgwud* (*ta kitchi-inendagwad*, Bar.) 'let it be regarded greatest,' fut. imperat. of *kitchi-inendagwad* 'it is greatest-regarded.'

2. 'Thy rulership let it come hither' [v. 25, 'Thy rulership let it arrive amongst us']: *tūpitūgōwishinomūgūt* (*ta pidagwishinomagad*, Bar.) 'let-it hither-arrive'; *pi* denotes 'coming to' the speaker; *dagwishinomagad*, impers. form of *dagwishin* 'he arrives *by land*' (from primary *dago* 'among others,' i. e. 'he is with us,' 'in our midst').

3. 'What-thou-thinkest let-it-be-so here on-earth, just-so-as (*lit.* equally) yonder on-high.' *Inendam* 'he is so-minded,' 'he thinks, purposes, wills'; condit. (ptcp.) *enéndaman* 'as thou art minded,' 'as thou wilt' (Bar. Gr. 137). *Ta ijiwébad* (Bar.) 'let it be so': in v. 26, *ta ijitichigaim* 'let it be so done,' *lit.* 'let them (impers.) so do it.'

Missisauga Chippeway of Rice Lake village, Ontario,) and the Rev. Sherman Hall, missionary at Lapointe, Lake Superior. The whole work has been repeatedly revised, and the alterations and corrections were so numerous and important in the edition of 1856 as to entitle it to be regarded as a new version.

4. 'Give-us indeed this day (now in-the-day) that we-shall-eat.' *Sū* (*sa*, Bar., *suh*, J.), a particle of frequent occurrence in the Chippeway, does not admit of translation. It serves to strengthen or emphasize the verb, e. g. *nin sagia sa* 'I love him indeed,' *neen sah mekun* 'I am the way,' *neen sah ween* 'It is I, truly' (John xiv. 6, vi. 20). *Iw* (*iw*) is the remote demonstrative inanimate, 'that yonder,' but the propriety of its use before a future participle is questionable. Baraga (v. 24) has, "To day give-us that-we-shall-eat, every thing also give-us": Jones (v. 26), 'Give-us to-day that-will-be-to-us-bread,' in which *ka-obuhquazhegun-emeyong* is made to serve as the future conditional participle of a verb formed on *buh-quazhegun* (*pakwéjigan*, Bar.) 'a loaf of bread' — properly, 'of bread to be sliced' (see v. 23, note).

5. 'Also cast-away-as-regards-us (forgive us) those our-wrong-doings as-we-cast-it-away-to-them those who-may-do-evil-to-us.' *Wébin*, in compos. means 'to cast away,' 'to reject'; *wébinan* 'he rejects, abandons (him),' *wébinamawan* 'he throws away something belonging or relating to' another (Bar.), hence, 'he pardons the offence of' another. *Iniw*, remote demonstrative, inanimate, plural. *Báta* "prefixed to verbs gives them a signification which implies the idea of *sin*, *wrong*, *damage*" (Bar.): *bata-ijiwebisi* 'he badly conducts himself,' 'does wrong,' whence verbal, *bata-ijiwebisiwin* 'wrong doing, wickedness' &c., — here, with the prefix and suffixes of 1 pers. double plural. *Igiw*, pl. demonstrative of remote animate objects, 'those persons.' *Mūji-totawan* (*matchi-dodawan*, Bar.) 'he does evil to him'; conditional, *meji-dotawijin* "if he sin against me," Matt. 18. 21: ptepl. *mejítotawiiūngidjig* (*wiiangidjig*, Bar.) 'they who . . . to us.' Jones (v. 26) has the form *-weyuhmingejig*. For the verbs, Baraga (v. 24) has *bonigidetawan* 'he forgives him,' lit. 'he puts an end to thinking of it against him,' *boni* in compos. signifying 'stopping, ceasing, ending,' — and *nishkian* 'he offends him, makes him angry'; see Alg. version (23).

6. 'And do-not hereafter-conduct-us there into-temptation'; [in edition of 1844, "Do-not try-us anywhere we-may-be-subject-to-temptation," and so, nearly, in Luke xi. 4, ed.

1856:] *Ūniizhiwizhishikangen*, with *kego* ('do not') prefixed, is the *negative* form of the imperative 2d sing.~1st pl. of *izhiwinan* 'he conducts him' (*ijiwinan*, Bar.); *ŭni* (*ani*, Bar.) denotes action in the *future*, a "going on, approaching to" (Bar.). *Gugwetibeniman* (*gagwédibeniman*, B.) 'he tempts, makes trial of him': comp. Mass. (v. 10), Moh. (v. 17), Ottawa (v. 28). The formative of the verbal in *-tiwining* seems to be incorrect; see note on Baraga's Ottawa version (28).

7. *Mitagwenishinam* 'put away from us'; *mitagwenán* (*midagwenán*, B.) "he puts it aside or out of the way, *with his hands*," *mitágweta* "he puts himself aside" (Bar.); from *mi* 'away from,' and a verbal root *dagó*, the primary meaning of which seems to be, 'to place,' or 'to put in its place'; the *n* in *dagwen* is the characteristic of verbs expressing action performed by the *hand*, a form which is inappropriate to this petition.* The particles *win* does not admit of translation. It is a pronoun of the 3d person indefinite, and appears often to be used (like Fr. *en*) redundantly. In Jones's translation of John it occurs most frequently after *dush* and *sa* (*dush ween*, ch. viii., v. 40; *sah ween*, viii. 39, xii. 42, 47, &c.), or as enclitic, with the negative *ka* (*kahween*; *kawin*, B.): comp. in v. 26, *ka-go ween kuhya* (6th pet.) and *keen mah ween* 'thine indeed is it' (8th pet.); and *ka ma win* "no, no" (Bar.). The author of *Études Philologiques* includes *win* and *sa* (p. 86) with "expletives and enclitics which have no equivalents in French." *Onji* (*ondji*, Bar.) 'because of, for the sake of, from,' follows in Chippeway the word it governs; *win onji* means, literally, 'on account of him' (or, it), 'for his or its sake,' but cannot have the meaning, 'on account of *which*,' or, 'from *that which*,' for *win* certainly is not a relative pronoun. *Mūyiaiiwish* (with locat. affix *-ing*) = *matchi-aiiwish* (Bar.) 'bad thing,' *aiiwish* being the derogative of *aii*

* The *unlikeness* of Chippeway as written by John and Peter Jones to that of the Bible Society's versions, may be seen in forms of this verb in John xvii. 15; where Jones has *weengoo chemedahgwanahmahwahdah*, for *uin go jimitaguenimauvtua*, of the Bible Society's Testament of 1844 (changed to *uin jimitaguenvtua*, in the revised edition), for "thou shouldst keep them from (it)." In Baraga's notation, we should have: *win go tchi mitagwenimawadwa*.

'thing';* and for the *animate* form, *matchi-aiad-wish* 'bad person-bad,' wicked person, the devil (Bar.). *Ima*, in this and the preceding petition, is used as a preposition: *ima Galile kijigūming* "unto the sea of Galilee," Mark vii. 31; *ima nabikwaning* "into the ship," Mk. vi. 53; elsewhere, as an adverb of place: *ima Kana-ing . . . ima gigaiawūn* "in Cana . . . was there" (*emah Kana . . . emah keahyahwun*, Jones): Baraga—more accurately, as it seems to me,—makes it always an adverb, "there, thence," i. e. 'in or from *that* place.' I have not met with it in the Nipissing-Algonkin, or in any other of this group of dialects.

8. "Thou indeed hast (to thee belongs) this mastery, also this prevalence (authority), also splendor, always without-ceasing always." *Ma* is another of the particles which have no English equivalent; Baraga (Gr. 497) calls it an "accessory, of reinforcement," as: *win ma gi-ikito* "he has said it himself," *ka ma win* "no, no." *Kitibendan* (*ki dibendan*, B.) 'thou ownest, possessest, art master of (it)': comp. Abn. *neteberdam* 'I govern,' *wtaberdamwa"gan* 'his government' (Rôle), and see Cree v. 20b, pet. 2, and note: Baraga has intrans. *nind dibéndjige* 'I am master, lord,' whence ptc. conditional, *Debéndjiged* 'he who is Lord.' *Bishigendagōzi-win*, a verbal from *bishigéndagosi* "he is beautiful, glorious, splendid" (Bar.),—primarily, "he surpasses"; from *apitchi* (Bar.) "very much, exceedingly, perfectly" &c. (Abn. *pī'ta*, Del. *pechotschi* "much more," Zeisb., Cree *náspich*), whence *bishigendan* ('he thinks it great, perfect,' &c.) "he honors it, glorifies it" (Bar.) and anim. pass. *bishigendagosi* 'he is honored, glorified, accounted surpassing' &c.

Instead of *Amen*, Baraga, v. 24 (and in his *Otchipwe Anamie-Misinaigan*) has *Minotawichinam* 'be pleased to hear us,' or 'favorably hear us.'

* *Aii* (a-i-i) thing; diminutive, *aiins* 'little thing'; derogative or contemptuous, *aiiwish* 'bad, mean, or worthless thing.'

28. OTTAWA.

EAST SHORE OF LAKE MICHIGAN.

Baraga's *Katolik Anamie-Misinaigan* (Detroit, 1846).*

Nossina wakwing ebiian :

1. Apegich kitchitwawendaming kid anosowin.
2. Apegich bidagwichinomagak kid agimawiwin.
3. Enendaman apegich ijiwebak, tibichko wakwing, mi go gaie aking.
4. Nongom nongo agijigak nin pakwejjiganimina wa-iji-aio-
iang memechigo gijig.
5. Bonigidetawichinang gaie ga-iji-nichkiinangi eji bonigi-
detawangidwa ga-iji-nichkiiamindjig.
6. Kego gaie ijiwijichikange gagwedibeningewining.
7. Atchitchaii dach ininamawichinang maianadak.

Apeingi.

The differences of dialect between the Ottawas and southern Chippeways are slight. Baraga's *Otchipwe Dictionary* marks a considerable number of words as, exclusively, "Ottawa," but many of these may probably be referred to the local idioms of L'Arbre Croche and Grand River (Mich.), and others were unquestionably framed by—or received a new meaning from—foreign teachers. Some were transferred from the Algonkin mission-dialect of Canada. Several particles, which have been made to serve as prepositions and conjunctions, and a few adverbs of time and place—the least constant elements of Indian speech—seem to be peculiar to the Ottawa; e. g. *aji* for Chip. *jaigwa* 'already'; *jaie*, *jajaie*, for Chip. *mewija* 'long ago'; *jaiáw* for Chip. *gwaiák* 'straight, right, exactly': *ajiwi* for Chip. *iwidi* 'there, yonder,' and *ajonda* (Pottaw. *shoti*) for Chip. *oma* 'here,' &c. In his *Otchipwe Grammar* (p. 44), Baraga observes that "the euphonical *d*," which is in Chippeway interposed between the prefixed pronoun (1st and 2d pers.) and the noun or verb, is more frequently omitted in the Ottawa.

According to Dr. Schoolcraft, "the interchange of Chippeway *d* and *p* for *t*, of *b* for *p*, and the substitution of broad *ô* for *u*, in the Ottawa dialect, is a characteristic trait."† If I

* From a re-print, in Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, 359.

† *History of the Indian Tribes* (Collections &c., vol. vi), p. 464, note.

understand (as I am not sure that I do) what this trait is, I have not found it — particularly, as to the exchange of Chip. *p* with Ott. *t*, — in any specimens of the language which are within my reach.

The words occurring in this version which are marked in Baraga's Dictionary as peculiarly "Ottawa," are the following:

Wakwí "paradise, heaven"; with the locative inflection, *wakwing* (Bar.); whatever may be the etymology of this name, its special appropriation to 'heaven' must have been given it by the missionaries, who employed it, in the same sense, in the Canadian Algonkin dialect (see v. 23). *Nossina* is a vocative of Chip. and Ott. *nossinan* 'our father.'

Kid'anosowin 'thy name'; *anosowin*, which Baraga gives as the equivalent of Chip. *ijinikasowin* 'name,' is from *ano* = Chip. *ino* 'it is so'; *anosowin* is 'being so-designated,' *ijinikasowin* 'being so-called': the change of Chip. *i* to Ottawa *ā* is not uncommon; comp. Chip. *ikwe*, Ott. *akwé* 'woman'; Chip. *ishkoté*, Ott. *ashkoté* 'fire'; Chip. *ishkwátch*, Ott. *ashkwátch* 'at last, finally,' &c.

2. *Bi-dagwishinomagak* is the subj. of the unipersonal *dagwishinomagad* 'it arrives, comes,' with the prefix, *-bi*, denoting 'coming to' the speaker; compare vv. 26, 27, in which the same verb is in the 3d pers. sing. imperative. [Throughout this version, *ch* is used for *sh* of Baraga's later works in the Chippeway dialect; e. g. *dach* for *dash*, *tibichko* for *tibishkó*, &c.]

3. 'What-thou-purposeth I-wish it-may-so-be-done, equally (just so) in-heaven, just-so also on-earth.' The words are all pure Chippeway. *Ijiwebak*, subj. 3d pers. for *tū-izhiwebut* of v. 27, imperative. *Mi* 'so'; *go* is a particle of re-inforcement or emphasis.

4. I do not understand the repetition of *nongom* 'now,' in *nongo-agijigak* (Alg. *nongom-ongajigak*, Chip. *nongom gijigak*) 'to-day,' nor how the final *gijig* 'day' is to be construed: perhaps *nongo agijigak* stands for Alg.-Nipis. *neningokijik* (v. 23) 'once a day'; but I suspect an error of the press, — perhaps in the re-print.

5. The termination of the imperat. 2d pers. sing.~1st pl., here is in *-ishinang* instead of the Chip. *-ishinam* (v. 24): comp. Potawat. *-ishnak*, *-ichinag* (vv. 30, 31). In the subjunctive ('as we forgive') *-angidwa* is the transition form of 1 pl.~2d pl. 'we . . . them'; *-angid* (in v. 24) of 1 pl.~3d sing. 'we . . . him.'

6. 'Do-not, moreover, conduct-us into-temptation.' The verb has the negative form of the imperat. 2 sing.~1 pl., in *-jichikange*, instead of Chip. *-jishikangen* as in v. 27 (*-zheshe-kongain*, v. 26). The verbal ('into temptation') has *-gewin-ing* for *-tiwin-ing* (v. 27), *-diwin-ing* (Bar.); but Baraga's Dictionary gives *gagwedibeningewin* 'temptation,' for the Chipeway form, and, with the formative *-indiwin*, as meaning "temptation of several persons."

7. "Away but put-from-us the-thing-which-is (or, something) evil": comp. v. 24. Here again the verb has the dialectic *-inang* for Chip. *-inam*; see, above, petition 5. The disjunctive *dach* (*dash*, *dūsh*) correctly follows the adverb, and in the two preceding petitions the copulative *gaie* follows the leading verb and the prohibitive. Under the instruction of the missionaries, Indians soon learn to change the place of these particles and to give them the position and meanings of English or French conjunctions: comp. v. 27.

Apéingi "be it so, I wish it would be so," Baraga marks as an Ottawa word; comp. Chip. *apégish* 'I wish it,' Lat. *utinam* (Bar.), Nipis. *kekona ki ingi* (v. 23).

29. OTTAWA.

INDIAN TERRITORY.

From J. Meeker's version of Matthew's Gospel.*

Nosina ushpīmīng eiaun:

- 1 Kechīupitentakwuk ketīshīnikasowīn.
2. Kitokimeowīn tukwīshīnomukut.
3. Mano kitinentumowīn mantupī ukīng mi kešshiwepuk
tīpīshko kitinentumooīn ushpīmīng eshipuk.

* "The New Testament translated into the Ottawa Language, by Jotham Meeker . . . revised, and compared with the Greek by Rev. Francis Barker." Shawanoe Bapt. Mission Press, 1841. Only Matthew's and John's gospels were printed (1841, 1844).

In this version, as in all other publications of the Baptist Shawanoe Mission,

4. Mishishīnang nongo kishīkat entuso kishīkuk eshiwisi-
niang.
5. Minuwishawenimishīnang ka-muchītotumangīn, eshi mi-
nuwishawenimungītwa me'chītotuwiumngīshīk.
6. Kuie keko ishiwīshīshkange kukwechiētewīning.
7. Akonishīnang chiwipwa muchīshīchikeang.
8. Kin ma kitīpentan okimaowin, kuie iwī kushkiewīsiwīn,
kuie iwī pīshīkentakosiwīn. Kakīnik.
Emen.

3. *Māno* for 'utinam,' 'would that,' as in v. 27, but with doubtful propriety. *Mantupi* 'in this'; *mantu* (Chip. *mandan*, Bar.) is a general demonstrative, often superfluous in English, 'this, thus, so,' &c. *Mi* 'so,' emphasizes the *ishi* (Chip. *iji*) of *ishiwipuk*, which has here the prefixed *ke* of the imperative future, 'let it be so': *eshiwepek*, in the last clause, for 'it is so,' should be *eshiwepat* (Chip. *iji-webad*) of the indicative present. In the next petition the opposite error occurs, *nongo kishīkat* (indicat.) 'now it is day' or 'to-day is,' for *nongo kishīkuk* (condit.; comp. vv. 27, 28) 'while it is to-day,' or 'in the now day.'

4. *Entuso* (Chip. *endasso*, Pot. *etso*, Abn. *é'tasse*) *kishīkuk* 'of every day,' 'daily.' *Eshiwisiñiang*, from *wisiñi* 'he eats,' (Chip. *wissini*, Bar.), with a prefix (Chip. *iji*?) the force of which is not quite clear; the apparent meaning is, 'what we so eat,'—perhaps, 'our usual food': comp. *wisiñit* 'when he was eating,' Matt. xxvi. 7, *wisiñin* 'eat thou,' John iv. 31: Chip. *wissiniwin* "eating, food" (Bar.). In other places Meeker has *pukweshīkun* (*pakwejigan*, Bar.) for 'bread' and 'loaf,' as in Matt. xv. 34, xvi. 5, and *mishīshīnang mantu pukweshīkun* 'give us this bread,' Jno. vi. 34.

6. Compare Chippeway v. 27 and Ottawa v. 28.

7. 'Save-us (or, restrain-us?) before-that-we-do-evil.' The meaning of *akonishīnang* is not clear; Meeker has *kaskonishīn*

Meeker's system of phonetic notation (see note after version 30) was adopted; *rmrn* stands for 'amen,' *nofo* for *nongo* in the fourth petition, and *kuer*, *ukif*, represent the sounds of the Bible Society's and Baraga's *gaie aking*. I have transliterated the prayer to the orthography of the Am. Bible Society's versions (see v. 27), retaining Meeker's *w* for *u* ("oo in pool, or u in full") and Meeker's *u* ("as in tub") for the Bible Society's *ʌ*, (which is really the neutral vowel—Baraga's *ǣ*) and distinguishing his "i as in pin" as *ī*.

save me' (Matt. xiv. 30) *kaskonishinang* 'save us' (viii. 25); but comp. *mi-tagwenishinam*, v. 27. *Chiwipwa* = Chip. *tchibwa* 'before.' *Muchī-ishichiket* 'he does evil,' *nint'ishichike* 'I do (it),' Chip. *nind ijitchige* (Bar.); but this verb means literally, 'I *so* (*iji*, *ishi*) do,' and cannot properly receive another adverbial prefix, like *muchī* (badly).

8. Comp. vv. 27, 30, and see notes on the former of these.

30. POTAWATOMI.

ST. JOSEPH'S RIVER.

From Lykins's version of Matthew's Gospel (1844).*

Nos'nan ein shpumuk kishkok:

1. Ketchnentaqut k'tishnukascoun.
2. Ktokumau'oun kupiémkit.
3. Notchma ktenentumcoun knomkit shoī kik, ketchcōa shpumuk kishkok.
4. Mishīnak otī n'kom ekish'kiōuk etso kishkuk, eshōoish-niak.
5. Ipi ponentumcōishnak mīsnukīnanīn ninanke eshponen-mukīt meshitot'moīmit, mesnumoiumkeshiīk.
6. Ipi keko shonīshikak ketshī qu'tchītipenmukoiak.
7. Otapīnīsh'nak tchaiek meanuk.
8. Kin ktupentan okumaucoun, ipi k'shke-cōsucoun, ipi iō k'tchīnentaq'suōin, kakuk. Emen.

"There are three tribes of us joined" — said the Indians on Lake Michigan, in reply to the questions of Dr. Morse, in 1820, — "viz., the Pottawattamies, Chippewas, and Ottawas. Since the white people were introduced among us, we are known by these names. Our traditions go no further back": and, as the Potawatomes admitted, "the Chippewas and Ottawas speak our language more correctly than any other tribes within our knowledge."† In 1667, Father Claude Allouez, visiting the "Pouteouatami," describes them as a

* Printed at Louisville, Ky., for the (Baptist) American Indian Mission Association. In this version, Mr. Lykins adopted Meeker's system of notation, printing *r* for Engl. *ā*, *l* for *ch*, *h* for *sh*, &c. I have transliterated this, as accurately as possible, to the orthography of the Bible Society's *Ojibwa Testament*, modified as in version 27. Pronounce *u* as in *tub*, — corresponding, generally, to Baraga's *a* short, in Chippeway and Ottawa.

† Morse's *Report on the Indian Tribes*, 1822, App. 141.

warlike people, hunters and fishermen, "speaking Algonkin, but *much less easily understood* than were the Ottawas," by the missionaries from Canada.*

Of peculiarities of dialect observable in this and the next following versions, the most prominent is the shortening of words by omission of vowels—suggesting a manner of speech very unlike "the deliberate Cree, and the sonorous, majestic Chippeway."† Baraga's Chip. *wa-o-dis-si-ka-go-i-an-gin* (v. 24, pet. 7) is clipped to Pot. *wa-otch-ka-ko-ya-kin* (v. 31); Chip. *nongom* loses its initial *n* and a vowel, in Pot. *ngom*; *kit-ijinikasowin* ('thy name') becomes *ktishnukaswun*.

The locative termination is *k* or *g*, without a nasal: *kishkok* for Chip. *gijigong*; *kik* for Chip. *aking* (pronounced, *akingk*); *shpumuk* for *ishpeming*, &c.

The transition imperative 2d sing.~1st pl. is in *-nak*, for Chip. *-inam*; see pet. 4, *mishinak*.

Of particles: *ipi* for 'and' (in petitions 5, 6, 8) is perhaps related to Chip. *mi-pi* 'likewise' and to Ott. *apè* in *apéingi* 'be it so' (v. 28); Lykins occasionally uses *itchi* as a connective (e. g. Matt. iv. 17–25) = Chip. *achi* (Bar.), Cree *assitche* 'also'; *notchma* 'let it be so' (?) is perhaps peculiar to this dialect; *shoti* 'here, in this place,' is Ott. *ajonda*, Cree *otè*; *ketchwa* 'just so' ("even as," Matt. v. 48): *etso* 'every'; *tchaiek* 'all, wholly,' &c.

Eïn = Chip. *eaiün*, vers. 27: 3d pers. *eit* 'he who is,' Matt. vi. 1. *Shpumuk kish'kok* 'on high in the sky' (Chip. *ishpeming* *gijigong*, Bar.); *kishuk* 'sky,' Matt. xvi. 3.

K't-ish'nukasoun 'thy name,' Chip. *kit-ijinikasowin*, Bar.

2. Comp. vv. 26, 27. *Ku-piemkit*, for 'let it come'; *kũ* = Chip. *ga*, sign of the future—but, with the imperative, the Chippeway has *ta* (*tũ*, v. 27) instead of *ga*; *piémkit* (*piamkit*, Acts xvii. 26) from a form corresponding to Chip. unipersonal verbs in *-magad* (*-mügüt*, v. 27), from primary *n'pia* 'I come' (*pian* 'come thou,' *n'ku-pia* 'I will come,' Matt. viii. 9, 7).

3. *Notchma* 'let it be so,' or 'I wish it may be so.' *Ktenen-tumar'oun*, Chip. *kid-inendamowin* (verbal) 'thy will': the verb in the conditional would be better, as in Matt. xxvi.

* *Relation de la Nouvelle France*, 1667 (Quebec ed.), p. 18.

† Howse, *Cree Grammar*, 13.

39, *nin enentumán, kin enentumin* "as I will, as thou wilt." *Knomkit* 'be done' (*ikenomkit* 'so be it done,' Matt. viii. 13). *Shoti kik* 'on this earth' (*chote kig*, De Smets, v. 31); *shoti tchaiek kik* "on all the face of the earth," Acts xvii. 26; *shoti achiiuwaat* "in this place," Acts vii. 7. *Ketchwa* 'just so,' "even as," Matt. v. 48.

4. *Mishinak* = Chip. *mijishinam* (Bar.) 'give us'; here, as in the three following petitions, the transition of 2 sing. ~ 1 pl. 'thou . . . to us,' is in *-nak*, for Chip. *-nam*. *Oti*, a particle of very frequent occurrence, seems to be the equivalent of Chip. *win* (see v. 27, pet. 7), and is untranslatable: Lykins uses it, sometimes as a demonstrative, 'this' (Matt. iii. 17; *oti tchaiek* 'all this,' i. 22), but more often it is redundant.

N'kom ekishkiwuk 'to-day,' 'now in this day'; cf. Matt. vi. 30; = Ott. *nongo agijigak* (Bar.) v. 28. *Etso kishkuk* 'every day,' 'daily': *etso numekishkuk* "every Sabbath," Acts xviii. 4: comp. Mass. *ase-kêsukok-ish*, v. 10. *Esh-wis'niak* 'something to eat'? formed, apparently, from *wes'na* 'he eats' (feeds); see *tchaiek eki-wis'nawat* 'all did eat,' *kitchi ka-wis'-netchuk* "they that had eaten," Matt. xiv. 20, 21, *ewis'nit* 'when he eats,' xv. 20: comp. Ottawa v. 29.

6. *Ponentumawishnak* for Chip. *bonigidetawishinam*, Bar. v. 24, or rather, for Chip. *bónendamawishinam* from another form of the verb (*bónéndamawa*, Bar.). *Mis'nukinanin* 'debts,' literally, 'things written down' (Chip. *masinaige* 'he makes marks on something, he writes,' whence, *masinaigan* writing, a book, letter, debt, or score; Pot. *m'sinukin*, Acts. i. 1).

7. *Keko* (Chip. *kego*, v. 27) 'do not,' prohib. particle. *Shonishikak* = Chip. *izhiwizhishikangen* (v. 27), Ott. *ijiwijichikange*, v. 28. *Qu'tchïpen'mukoiaik* 'that we may be tempted,' from the equivalent of Chip. *nin gatchibia* 'I tempt him' (and *nin godjipwa* 'I try him') Bar.; comp. v. 27.

8. *Otapinish'nak* 'remove from us.' *Tchaiek* 'all,' 'every'; or as an adverb, 'wholly, entirely.' *Meänuk* 'evil,' Chip. and Ott. *maianadak* (Bar.).

9. Comp. Chippeway version 27. *Kakuk* = Chip. *kakinik* 'forever.'

31. POTAWATOMI.

COUNCIL BLUFFS, MO.

From Rev. P. J. De Smet's *Oregon Missions*.

Nosinan wakwik ebiyin :

1. Ape kitchitwa kitchitwa wenitamag kitinosowin.
 2. Enakosiyin ape piyak.
 3. Kitewetako tipu wakwig, ape tepwetakon chote kig.
 4. Ngom ekijikiwog michinag mamitchiyak.
 5. Ponigetedwichinag kego kachi kichiinakineyi, ponigeledwoiket woye kego kachi kichiimidgin.
 6. Kinamochinag wapatakiyak.
 7. Chitchiikwan nenimochinag meyanek waotichkakoyakin.
- Ape iw nomikug.

The Potawatomis, after the surrender of their lands in Indiana and Illinois, were removed, between 1836 and 1841, to a reservation near Council Bluffs, Mo., where they were visited by Father De Smet. From the absence of the interlinear translation which he has supplied to other versions printed in his *Oregon Missions*, and from the defective punctuation of this, I infer that he did not himself understand the Potawatomi language, but copied this prayer—perhaps not with perfect accuracy—from the manuscript of a resident missionary. It preserves some of the dialectic peculiarities of the preceding (Lykins's) version, but seems to have been partly borrowed from the Ottawa and Chippeway of Baraga.

Wakwik, Ott. and Alg. (*not* Chip.) *wakwing*. *Ape*, in 1st, 2d, and 3d petitions, for Chip. *apégish*, *apédash*, 'I wish' (Lat. *utinam*). *Kitchitwa-wenitamag* for Ott. *kitchitwa-wendaming*, v. 28. *Kit-inosowin*, Ott. *kid-anosowin* 'thy name.'

Enakosiyin 'when thou appearest' (or ptep. 'thou appearing'), for Chip. *nágosiian*, from *nágosi* 'he appears, is visible' (Bar.). *Ape piyak* 'I wish thou mayest come to us,'—from *n'pia* 'I come to'; comp. Baraga's Chip. v. 24.

4. 'To-day give us our food': *mamitchiyak*, Ott. *meme-chigo* (Bar. v. 28); comp. *ge-midjiang*, v. 24.

5. *Kego kachi* for Chip. *gego ga-iji*, v. 24. *Ponigeledwoiket*, by error of the press (or the copyist) for *bonigetedwoiket*. *Woye* for Chip. *awia*, v. 24, and Alg. v. 23.

6. *Kinamochinag*, Chip. *kinaamawichinam*, v. 24; *wapata-diya*k, Chip. *wabatadiiangin*.

7. *Chitchikwan*, Ott. and Chip. *atchitchaii*, vv. 24, 28, 'aside, away' (Bar.). *Meyanek* (*meänuk*, Lykins), Chip. and Ott. *maianadak* 'evil.'

32. MENOMONI.

WOLF RIVER, WISCONSIN.

Rev. Fl. J. Bonduel, in Shea's *Hist. of Cath. Missions*, p. 363.

Nhonninaw kishiko epian.

1. Nhanshtchiaw kaitechwitchikatek ki wishwan.
2. Nhanshtchiaw katpimakat kit okimanwin.*
3. Enenitaman nhanshtchiaw kateshekin, tipanes kishiko hakihi *œ* min.
4. Mishiamé ioppi kishi χ a nin pakishi χ animinaw eniko eweia *œ*anenon kaieshi χ a.
5. Ponikitetawame min ka eshishnekihi χ ikeian, esh ponikitetawaki θ wa ka ishishnekihiame θ wa.
6. Pön inishiashame ka kishtipeni θ wane.
7. Miakonamauwame *œ* meti.

Nhanshenikateshekin.

When the "Maloumines" or "Folles Avoines" were first known to the French, they seem to have been living on the north-eastern shore of Lake Superior, between the Noquets on the east and the Ouinipigous (Winnebagoes) to the west. Before 1658, however, all these tribes had settled in the neighborhood of Green Bay,—the Folles Avoines on the banks of the river which still retains the name of Menomonee†. *Manoumini*, in other dialects *Maloumin* and *Maroumini*, is the Algonkin name of the 'wild rice' ('folle avoine' of the French), the principal food of this tribe.

The materials for study of their language are very scanty. Mr. Gallatin printed a vocabulary compiled by Mr. Doty; another, by Mr. Brace of Green Bay, was published in the second volume of Schoolcraft's Collections (pp. 470-481). Edwin James, in Tanner's Narrative, gave some Menomoni words and phrases. The language (as Mr. Gallatin observed)

* Read: *kit okimanwin*.

† *Relations de la Nouv. France*, 1640 (p. 35), 1658 (p. 21), 1671 (p. 42).

"is less similar to that of the Chippeways, their immediate neighbours, than is almost any other dialect of the same stock," east of the Mississippi. In the frequency of aspirates and the elimination of nasals (e. g. *kishiko*, for Chip. *gijikong*; *hakihi* for Chip. *aking*), the Menomonees may have been influenced by their continued intercourse with the Winnebagoes.

The Rev. F. J. Bonduel was a missionary to the Menomones at Lake Powahégan, near Wolf River, Wisc., from 1847, till their removal in 1852 to another reservation, at Shawano Lake, between Wolf and Oconto Rivers*. The Menomones all, or nearly all, speak the Chippeway language, and I infer that the instructions of the missionaries were given in that tongue.†

Nhonninaw 'our father'; *nonhnainh* 'my father' (Br.), *hohahnun* 'father' (Gal.) *Kishiko* (*kayshaykoh*, Br.) 'in the sky': comp. *kayshoh* 'sun,' *kayshaykots* 'day' (Br.), *kayzhik* 'day' (James).

Nhanshtchiaw 'I wish that' = Pota. *notchma*, version 30. *Kaietchwitchikatek* = Alg. *kitchitwa-widjikatek*, vers. 23. *Kiwishnan* 'thy name,' comp. Cree *ki-wiyowin* (vv. 18, 20), Mass. *koo-wesuonk*.

2. *Katpimakat* = Pota. *ku-piémkit*, v. 29: the formative *-makat* (Pota. *-mkit*) is Chip. *-magad*, of "personifying" verbs, by which action is predicated of *inanimate* subjects (Bar. Gr. 85), 'it comes,' or 'let it come.' *Okimanwin*, a misprint for

* Shea's *History of Catholic Missions*, pp. 392, 393.

† In 1855, Mr. Bonduel published, in France, as a "Souvenir d'une Mission Indienne," a drama entitled "*Nakam et Nigabianong son fils, ou l'Enfant perdu*,"—with a quasi-historical introduction. I mention it here as confirming my impression that the Menomoni dialect was not generally used by the missionaries: for the Menomones. Nakam, "issue d'une famille illustre de la grande tribu des Indiens Ménomoniés," and her son, and his uncle Kashagashigé, a Menomoni chief, and his grandsire Shoninèw, "guerrier très-renommé," all—to judge from the specimens of their language introduced in the drama—usually spoke bad Chippeway instead of their vernacular. *Kashagashigé* prays to the *Kijëmanito* (Great Spirit) as "*kossinan gijiojong ébid*," our father who art in heaven, (and forgets the dialectic "*nhonninaw kishiko epian*"), while he falls into the mistake of employing the *inclusive plural* in address, *kossinan* for *nossinan*, 'your father and mine' for 'thou, our father.' The other characters of the drama evince similar ignorance of their own language, and disregard of grammatical proprieties.

okimauwin, 'kingdom,' 'rulership'; *ahkaymowe* (Br.), *okomow* (Gal.) 'a chief.'

3. *Hahiki* 'on earth' = Moh. *hkeek*, Chip. *aking*, Abn. *kik* (v. 7); Menom. *ahkawe* (Br.) 'earth, land.'

4. *Ioppi kishixa* for *koppi kishixa* (*kopai kayzhik*, James, 'throughout the day')? comp. *ohmanhnayew kayshaykah* 'to day' (Br.). *Nin-pakishixaniminaw* 'our wheat-bread-grain' = Ott. *nin-pakwejiganimina* (v. 28), &c.

5. Comp. Ottawa (v. 28), Potawatomi (v. 30): *esh*, *ish*, = Chip. *iji* 'so, as'.

6. *Pon*, *poan* 'do not' (James) = Chip. *bon-*, *boni-*, signifying, as a prefix, "finishing, ceasing, stopping," &c. (Bar.); comp. *ponikitetawame* 'cease to think of against us' &c., in preceding petition.

7. *Meti* 'evil'; comp. Shawn. *mochtoo* (version 34), Mass. *matchituk* (v. 10); Menom. *konwaishkaywot* 'bad' (Br.), *kunwaysheewut* (Gal.), but *machayawaytok* 'devil' (i. e. bad spirit?) and *mahtaet* 'ugly' (Br.).

33. SHAWANO.

"The Lord's Prayer in Shawanese," *American Museum*, vol. vi. (1789), p. 318.*

Coe-thin-a spim-i-key yea-taw-yan-æ:

1. O-wes-sa-yey yea-sey-tho-yan-æ.
2. Day-pale-i-tum-any pay-itch-tha-key.
3. Yea-issi-tay-hay-yon-æ issi-nock-i-key, yoe-ma assis-key-kie pi-sey spim-i-key.
4. Me-li-na-key-æ noo-ki cos-si-kie, ta-wa it thin-æ-yea-wap-a-ki tuck-whan-a.
5. Puck-i-tum-i-wa-loo kne-won-ot-i-they-way yea-se-puck-i-tum-a ma-chil-i-tow-e-ta.
6. Thick-i ma-chaw-ki tus-sy-neigh-puck-sin-a.
7. Wa-pun-si-loo waughpo won-ot-i-they ya.
8. Key-la tay-pale-i-tum-any way wis-sa-kie was-si-ent-i-we-way thay-pay-we way.

Amen.

The author of this version is unknown. His orthography is peculiar. The vowels have the English sounds, and *ay*

* Re-printed in *Mithridates*, iii. (3), 358, but with several additional errors—the fifth and sixth petitions joined in one, and the eighth divided in two.

represents (as in *day*) *ā*, *ey* (as in *key*) *ē*; *oe* (as in *foe*) *ō*; *ie* final is the unaccented and abridged *ē* (as in *Annie*); &c.

The first word, *Coethina* (= *kothina*) for 'our Father' has the affixes of the *inclusive* plural possessive, instead of the *exclusive* (*nothina*), and means, not 'thou our father,' but 'Father of thyself and us.' This mistake is not an uncommon one: see Abnaki vv. 8, 9b, and Blackfeet v. 38, note.

I have not been at the trouble of pointing out or endeavoring to correct the errors of the press by which this version is obscured. Such notes as it suggests will be found in connection with Lykins's modern version (35) — though the two have not many words in common.

34. SHAWANO.

MIAMI RIVER?

Mithridates, iii.(3), 359, from Gen. Butler's MS.*

Neelawe Nootha spimmickie| ¹ittahappieennie.

1. Olamic| ²nitta lellima ossithoyannic mechie.³
2. Pioyannic nieokimomina.|
3. Kiellelimella keelawanie kihosto poisic⁵ ishiteheyannic
utussic assishic⁴ poisic⁵ aspimonicke jatoigannic.
4. Keh meelic innuckie kassickie tewah moossockie nie
tock quanimic.⁶
5. Tewah keh wannichkatta tiehe nie motochtoo poissic
neelawe nihwannichkittama wietha nie motchliqua.
6. Tickic⁷ motchie monnitto nih wannimiqua.
7. Teppiloo kee nepalimie wechie motta wiehae nih motchtoo.
8. Choiachkie wie-thakie kittapollitta asspimmichic tewah
olamic kee wissacuttawie tewah kee missic monnitto.
Mossackie, moossackie. Hawe.

Corrections:

^{1,2} Vater must have printed from a very bad copy of a worthless version. I have indicated his mistaken division of the first two petitions and the invocation. He suspected a mistake here, for he remarks, in a note (p. 360) that *olamic*, in the doxology, is 'earth,' and yet it appears at the end of the first petition; "so kann dahey *vielleicht* ein Versehen obwalten."

³ Every word in Shawano must end in a vowel or an aspirate. The copyist

* Gen. Richard Butler was one of the Commissioners who concluded the treaty with the Shawnees (Shawanoes) in 1786, by which they received an allotment of lands west of the Miami River.

has sometimes mistaken a final *e* for *c*, but in other cases Gen. Butler was probably misled by his interpreter—perhaps a Mohegan—into omission of the final soft vowel, writing *c* for *ki* or *ke*. Every one of the twenty-four words in this version which end in *c* requires correction to *e* or *ki*.

⁴ For *assiskie* or *-kiki*,—the latter being the correct (locative) form.

⁵ For *poisie* (*pisey*, v. 33; *piese*, Lykins) ‘like,’ ‘so.’

⁶ For *nie-tockquanimie*. ⁷ For *tickie* (*take*, v. 35; *thicki*, v. 33).

Correcting *spimmickie* to *spimikie* (comp. v. 33) and *olamie* to *olamiki*, the invocation would read: “We my-father (or, ‘our my-father’) on-high there-who-dwellest within,”—if *olamiki* is, by forced construction, connected with the preceding verb: but if it belongs at the beginning of the next clause (as I have placed it), it stands in opposition to *spimikie*, meaning, as in the doxology, ‘below,’ i. e. ‘on earth’ (Del. *allami* ‘within,’ *alama-* in composit. ‘under, below’ = Chip. *anama-*, Abn. *araⁿmek* ‘beneath’); ‘Here-below we-wish (regard) thy-name greatly.’ The next clause is untranslatable, but was perhaps intended for ‘Come-to-us [as] our-ruler’: Butler’s translation is: “You are with us (or, present), and we respect you as our king”—but this is manifestly wrong.

The author of this version can have had only very slight knowledge of the language, and seems to have picked up his words one by one, from an interpreter, and to have brought them together without regard to their grammatical relations. Not a single petition would convey to a Shawano the meaning at which the writer aimed.

35. SHAWANO.

From The Gospel of Matthew [chapters i—xvii] translated into the Shawanoe Language by Johnston Lykins, revised, &c., by J. A. Chute, M. D. (Shawanoe Bapt. Mission Press, 1836.)

Waothemalikea mankwitoke eapeine:

1. Mamospalamakw’ke kehesetho.
2. Kokemiwewa we’peaei.
3. Ealalatimine wehenwe hiseskeke, ease eke mankwitoke.
4. Melenikea tape tikw’hi enoke kisakeke.
5. Winekitimiwenikea namosenahekinani, eise winekitimi-wikeche mieimosenahweeimacke.
6. Chena take nekesewasepa witi kochekeothooikea.
7. Pieakwi wipinas’henikea timichitheke otche.
8. Ksikea keli okemiwewa chena wisekike chena wieiwenakw’ke, Kokwalikwise. Aman.

The Baptist Shawano mission was established in 1830, on the Shawano reservation near the west line of Missouri, and an elementary book (*Siwinowe Eawekitake*) was printed at the mission press by Mr. Meeker in 1834. In all the publications by this mission, the orthographical system invented by Mr. Meeker was adopted (see vv. 29, 30). In this system, the notation of sounds varied with every dialect to which it was applied; thus, *b* stands in the Delaware for *ū*, in the Shawano for *th*; *h* represents Delaware and Potawatomi *teh*, in Shawano it is a mere aspirate; *c* is Delaware *ě*, Shawano *ch* soft, and so on. The (unfinished) version of Matthew has no key to the pronunciation, and I leave the vowels as I find them, and of the consonants I change, only, Mr. Meeker's *b* and *c*, to *th* and *ch*, respectively. His *a* represents, generally, the sound of English long *ā* (in *mane*) but occasionally that of *ă* short (in *at*); *e*, generally, the English *ē* (as in *me*); *o*, nearly as in *note*, but more open; *i* is of uncertain value, having sometimes the sound of Italian *a* (in *far*), but more frequently standing for a neutral vowel for which other writers put *a*, *o*, or *ū* (*v* of the Bible Society's texts): compare Meeker's *tikw'hi* (bread), with *tuckwhana*, v. 33, and *tukwhah* of Cummings's vocabulary.*

According to Heckewelder, the Shawanoes "generally place the accent on the last syllable,"—and this agrees with the marked accentuation of Cummings's and Howse's vocabularies.

Waothematikea is a synthesis corresponding to Jones's Chippeway *waosemegoyun* and Zeisberger's Delaware *wetócheme-lenk*. The Shawanoes and Delawares have been allies and have maintained unbroken intercourse for more than a century. The influence of this relation on the mission-dialect of Zeisberger has already been suggested (v. 17, note). Mr. Lykins appears to have had in mind Zeisberger's Delaware version of this prayer—which was already familiar to some of the Shawanoes, probably,—following its order, and selection of words, rather than that of the English text. The

* In the key to pronunciation prefixed to Lykins's Shawano primer (*Siwinowe Eawekitake*) printed in 1834, the sounds of the vowels are as follows: *a* as in *mane*, *i* as in *fär*, *e* as in *me*, *o* as in *no*, *w* as *o* in *move*.

synthesis for 'our Father' is framed on the primary *-oth*, to signify 'Thou who art like a father to us.' Meeker has, *nothi* 'my father' (*nòthah*, Cum.), vocat. *nothahe*, *Hothemi* 'the Father,' *nothwi* 'our father,' &c. *Mankwitwe* 'sky,' *mankwi-toke* 'in the sky,' 'in heaven' (*menkwâtkee*, *-tokee*, Cumm.)

1. 'Very-highly-exalted-be thy-name.' The primary verb is strengthened by *mamospi* 'very high'—comp. *mamospike witchewe* "into an exceeding high mountain," Matt. iv. 8; with *lamak'we* comp. *lamakothe* 'honor,' Matt. xiii. 57; *olami* 'above,' 'exceeding' (Del. *allowiwi*, Zeisb., Mass. *anue*).

2. 'Thy rulership will-come.' *Okemiwewe* 'rulership' ('kingdom,' Matt. vii. 21). *We (wa)* is the sign of the future, indicative or imperative, but *peaei* is in the indicative; comp. *kisakeke wa'peaei* 'the days will come, Matt. ix. 16; *peawi* 'he comes,' *peake* 'they come,' *peaei* 'it comes,' *peilo* 'come thou,' *capitche* 'when he came,' (Lykins).

3. 'As-thou-willest may-that-be on-earth as so-is in-heaven.' *Natalalati* 'I will,' strengthening the short vowel in the conditional mood, makes *ealalati-mishe* 'as he wills,' *ealalati-mine* 'as thou wilt,' &c.; comp. Menom. *enenitaman*, Cree (v. 20) *a itaye'tumun*, Chip. (v. 27) *enendūmūn*. *We'henwi* from *heno* (*éne*, Howse) 'this' *inanim. obj.*, as in *eno-ke kisakeke* 'in this day,' 'to-day' (pet. 4). *Iseske* (and *hi-*) 'earth,' here in the locative, *hiseske-ke*; *ahsiskée*, Cumm., *assiskeykie* (v. 33). *Ease* 'so,' Chip. *iji*, Menom. *esh* (v. 32), Ilin. *ichi*; *hene ease neke* "that it might be fulfilled," i. e. 'this so so-be' (Matt. xii. 17). *Eke* is perhaps a misprint for *neke* (Del. *leek*, v. 17) 'it so is.'

4. 'Give-us enough bread this day-in.' *Tapi* = Mass. *tâpi* 'enough'; comp. Chip. *nin debis* 'I have enough,' *nin debia* 'I satisfy him' (Bar.). *Tikw'hi* (*tukwhàh*, Cumm.) 'bread,' Moh. *tquogh* (v. 13). *Enoke* 'in this,' 'now'; *enoke kisakeke* 'this day-in'; *enokeèkahsakeèkee*, Cumm.; comp. Del. *elischquik* (Zeisb.), Cree *anots ka kisikak* (v. 20b.), Nipis. *nongom gijigak* (v. 24).

5. 'Forgive-us our-bad-doings as we-shall-forgive-them they-who-do-us-harm.' The principal verb is related to Alg. (Chip.) *wanisitam* 'to lose from mind' (see v. 23). *Miche*, *make*

(=Mass. and Chip. *matchi*) 'bad,' as adj. inan., *machike* 'evil,'; *machelaniwaw* 'badness, sin'; *machenaheke* (*mosenaheki*) 'bad doing.'

6. 'And do-not lead-us where-in we are-tempted'? *Chena* (so, in Meeker's orthography) for 'and.' *Take* 'do not,' = Mass. *ahque*, Moh. *cheen*, Dal. *katschi*, &c.; in v. 33, *thicki*.

7. *Pieakwi* [*ie* = *ai*, or English *i* nearly; Meeker writes *Siemin* for 'Simon,' *Tieile* for 'Tyre';] used for the conjunction 'but,' and sometimes for 'only'; its primary meaning seems to be, 'on the other side,' 'on the contrary.' The final *otche* (*oce*, Meeker) is the post-position 'from,' Chip. *ondji*; *ti-michithe-ke otche* 'from what is bad'; *muchähthee* 'bad,' Cumm.

8. 'For thou dominion and power (strength) and glory (magnificence?).' *Keli* (*keyla*, v. 33, *keelah*, C.) 'thou.' *Wisekike* 'power,' Matt. ix. 8; comp. *wisekike* 'he is able, has power,' *wesekikwelane* 'a strong man,' Matt. ix. 6, xii. 29; (*wishkânwee* 'strong,' C.).

Kokwalikwise 'always,' 'at all times' (*kokwêlahkwâhshee* 'forever,' C.); comp. *kokwa-kiche* 'every where,' 'whithersoever,' Matt. viii. 19; *kokwa-nathi* 'whosoever,' v. 19; (and *telâhkwaâhshee* 'never,' C.): comp. Chip. *kakina* 'all,' 'the whole,' 'entirely'; *kâginig* (Ottawa *kâgini*) 'always, continually' (Bar.).

[PSEUDO] SHAWANO.

"Savanahicé"; from Chamberlayne's *Oratio dominica in diversas . . . linguas versa* (1715). Re-printed by Vater, in *Mithridates*, iii. (3), 358.

Keelah Nossé kitshah awé Heyring:

1. Yah zong seway ononteeo.
2. Agow aygon awoanneeo.
3. Yes yaon onang ché owah itsché Heyring.
4. Kaat shiack Mowatgi hee kannaterow tyenteron.
5. Esh keinong cha haowi eto necot shkeynong haïtsché kitsha haowi.
6. Ga ri waah et kain.
7. Isse he owain matchi.

Agow aigon issé sha wanneeo egawain onaing. Neeo.

I have inserted this version, not because it is Shawanese—which it certainly is not—but because it has been copied as

such, from Chamberlayne, by Hervas, Bodoni,* Vater, and Auer.† It does not belong to any *one* language ever spoken by an American tribe. The first two words, “*keelah nossé*,” are of Algonkin origin, and the *pronoun* may pass for Shawanese. *Heyring* was probably transferred from the English ‘heaven,’ but with a locative inflection (*-ng*) which was not found in the Shawano. The greater part of the version looks as if had been made up from some Iroquois dialect, half-understood by the translator. The text was, we may be sure, bad enough at the first; and it has been hopelessly corrupted by copyist and printers. In the 4th petition we seem to recognize in *kaat shiack*, Mohawk *kásssha* (as Campanius wrote it) ‘give me,’ *cassar* (Long); and in *kannaterow*, Iroq. *kanadaro* (Long), *canadra* (Camp.), ‘bread,’ *kanatarok*, Gal.; in *hee* and *issé*, the Iroq. pronouns, *ii* and *isé*, ‘I, me, or us,’ and ‘thou’: in *agow*, the Iroq. equivalent (*akwa*, *kowa*) of Alg. *ketchi* ‘greatest, chief,’ &c.; *agow aigon issé sha wanneeo* is Iroq. *akwekon isé sewennio* ‘of-all thou art-master’; with which comp. (2d pet.) *agow aigon awoanneeo*, intended to signify ‘be master of all.’ In the 5th petition, *eshkeinong* was probably written as one word, and *eto neeot shkeynong* may have been *etonee otshkeynong* (Iroq. *ethoni* ‘so’).

Chamberlayne, in his preface, says that this version — “*Savahicam, linguæ circa Cinadam usitatæ, — misit Reverendus Doctor le Jau, V. D., Minister S. Jacobi in Carolinam Meridionali.*”

36. ILLINOIS (PEOUARIA).

As printed by Bodiani, *Oratio Dominica in CLV Linguas* (Paris, 1806), “ex MS.” [The notation is nearly the same employed by Rasles and other Jesuit missionaries: *ou* is substituted by the printer for Gravier’s 8 (*œ*, Germ. *u*); the vowels as in German; *c* (used only before *a* and *o*) as *k*: *ch* nearly as in English: *g* is *soft* before *e* or *i*; *gh*, as *g* hard.]

Oussemiranghi kigigonghi epiane :

1. Cousseta mourinikinteké[†] kiouinsounemi.
2. Kiteperinkiouunemi piakitché.

* *Oratio Dominica in CLV Linguas* (Parræ, 1806): “Savahanice; Ex Chamberlainio.”

† Sprachenhalle. *Das Vater-Unser in mehr als 200 Sprachen und Mundarten*, u. s. w. No. 595.

3. Kigigonghi kicou echiteheianiri nichinagatoui, akiski-
onghi napi nichinagouatetche.
4. Acami ouapankiri eouiraouianghi kakieoue² miriname.
5. Kichiouinachiamingi ichi pounikiteroutakianki, rapigi
pounikiteroutaouiname kichiouinariranghi.
6. Kiaheoueheueghe toupinachianmekinke chincheouihi-
name.
7. Mareouatougountchi checouihiname.
Vouintchiaha³ nichinagoka.

¹ Read: *coussetaïmourinikintche*. ² For *ouiraoui nounghi kakicoue* ? see note, *infra*. ³ For *Ouintchiaha*.

A copy of this version, evidently from the same original, was communicated to Dr. John Pickering, in 1823, as from a MS. grammar and dictionary of the Illinois language. The MS. may have been that of Father Boulanger, missionary to the Illinois in 1721. The version is more probably that of Father James Gravier, S. J., missionary from 1687 to 1706, who "was the first to analyze the language thoroughly and compile its grammar, which subsequent missionaries brought to perfection."* I have recently had the good fortune to discover the long-lost dictionary of Gravier, with additions and corrections by his successors in the Illinois mission, and by its aid I am enabled to correct some—though not all—of the errors of Bodiani's copy.†

The first Algonkins from the southwest who visited the French post on Lake Superior called themselves *Iliniwek* 'viri,' in the singular *Iliniwa*; whence, says Dablon in the *Relation* for 1671, the southern Indians were called, generally, *Illinois*, "just as the name of Ottawas (*Outaouacs*) was given to all the upper Algonkins, though of different nations, because the Ottawas were the first who became known to the French." When Marquette visited the Mississippi, in 1673, two principal tribes of the Illinois nation,—the *Peouaria* and the *Mouingouena*—lived west of that river, north of the Des Moines.‡ The *Kaskaskias* were on the upper Illinois, and to this region the *Peouarias*, soon after Marquette's visit, re-

* Shea's *History of Am. Catholic Missions*, pp. 414, 415 [from Father Marest in *Lettres Edifiantes*].

† I have cited this MS. Dictionary as *Gr.*

‡ Formerly the "*Mouingonan River*."

moved. The *Tamarouas* and *Caoukias* were to the south, near the east bank of the Mississippi. These five tribes constituted the Illinois nation—to which was subsequently added a sixth, the *Metchagamea* (of a different dialect). The great village of the *Kaskaskias*, 1680–1700, was south of the Illinois River, between it and the Vermillion. The *Peouarias* were on the north side of the Illinois, near La Salle's fort (and the present village of Utica), and it was here that Gravier resumed, in 1693, his mission work among the Illinois, and built a chapel. His MS. dictionary is of the Peouaria dialect, in which *r* is used for the more common Illinois *l* or *n*.*

The French missionaries found the Illinois language "very different from that of any other Algonkin nation."† Marquette mentions the differences of dialect between remote villages of the nation, but these were not so great that the inhabitants could not converse together.‡

The *Miamis* were allies of the Illinois, and spoke a dialect of the same language, of which we have some vocabularies; one in Volney's *Tableau &c. des États-Unis* (Paris, 1803), vol. ii. pp. 525–532, and another, from MS. authorities, printed in the Comparative Vocabulary to Gallatin's Synopsis.

The Peouaria dialect must have been soft and musical, in comparison with others of the same family which are known to us. Almost every syllable terminates with a vowel: the only exceptions are those in which the vowel is followed by *n* (nasal ?) before *g*, *k*, *ch*, and *tch*, in the next syllable. The proportion of consonants to vowels, in the written language, is very small. Some words are framed entirely of vowels, e. g. *waïwa* [u-a-i-u-a] 'he goes astray'; *waawi* [u-a-u-i, or, with imperfect diphthongs, *ua-ui* ['an egg']; *wiwoa* [u-i-u-u-a] 'he is married'; in many others, there is only a single semi-vowel or consonant proper in half a dozen syllables, e. g. *aiwaakivi* 'there is yet room'; *aiapia* 'a buck.' In *acoueouateoui* (*acowatewé*, Gr.) 'it leans, is not upright,' we have but two consonants.

* He gives: "*Inooa*, Illinois, peuple": "*Irinooa*, un homme fait": "*Irenoecoa*, il parle Illinois"; "*nit-erenooe*, je parle Illinois, je parle ma langue."

† Relation, 1667, p. 21.

‡ Narrative, in Shea's *Discovery of the Mississippi*, 245.

Ossemiranghi. The meaning aimed at was "Thou who art as a father to us," but the pronominal prefix of the first person is omitted. *Nossa* 'my father,' *ossari* 'his father'; *nit-ossima* 'I have him for a father.' The final *-eranghi* has the meaning of 'such as,' or 'like.' *Kigiganghi*, in the locative, from *kigigwi* 'sky, day' (Gr.). *Epiane*, 2d pers. conditional, from *nit api* 'I sit' ("il se dit de toute sorte de situation," Gr.).

1. Read, *osssetaïmawrinikintche ki-winsanemi* 'make it to be spoken with fear thy-name'; *ni-ossa* 'I fear him,' *ni-ossetan* 'I fear it,' *ni-ossita-iamawi* 'I cause myself to be feared when I speak.' *Awinsanemi* 'his name,' from *winsawa* 'he calls himself,' *winsani* 'a name'; the final *mi* is the mark of possession or personal appropriation.

2. *Ki-teberinkianemi* 'thy mastery'; from the same root as Abn. *ke-tepeltemwaghen* (v. 6), Cree *ke-tipaye'chekawin* (v. 20), Alg. *ki-tebeningewin* (v. 23); Il. *ni-teberinki* 'I am master,' *ni-teberinki-one-mi* 'my mastery, my government.' *Piakitchi* 'let it come,' imperat. 3d sing. (inan.) from *ni-pia* 'I come': comp. Del. *pejewiketch* [*pejewiketsch*, Zeisb.], Pot. *piyak*, v. 31.

3. 'In-heaven the-thing thou-thinkest is-so-done, on-earth likewise so-let-it-be-done.' *Kica* 'something' (Chip. *gêgo*), "mais ordinairement il ne dit pas seul" (Gr.). *Nit-ichitehwa* 'I so think,' literally, 'I am so (*ichi*) in heart (*tehe*),' Chip. *nind' iji-dée* "my heart is so" (Bar.). *Nichinagatawi* or (without the initial *n*) *ichinagatawi* 'it is so done.' *Akiskiwî* and *achiskiwî* 'earth, land' (Gr.); comp. Miami *akihkewe*, Kikapou *akiskiii* (Barton), Cree and Shawn. *assiskî*, Montagn. *astshi* (v. 22). *Napi* 'in the same manner, likewise.'

4. There are errors in the printed text, and the meaning of the original is thereby made doubtful. This seems most probable: "Of every day [our] portion, this day give us"; and if so, we must read: *egami ouapankiri aouiraoui nounghi kakiscoue miriname*. *Egami* 'at all times.' *Ouabankiri* from *ouabankie* 'when day comes' (lit. 'when it is light'), and so, 'of the day,' or 'the day's'; strictly, 'of the morning,' i. e. 'of the morrow': *egami wabankiri* 'of every morrow'; so, *egami maiacweritchi* (Gr.) 'every noon.' *Rawi* 'portion,

share'; *ni-rawi* "my portion, my share of food, of meat, &c.," *awirawi* "his portion, food, that on which he subsists" (Gr.). *Nwnghi kakicwæ* (and *kakiscwæ*) 'to-day,' Chip. *non-gom gigigak* (v. 24), Ott. *nongo agijigak*. *Miriname*, from *ni-mira* 'I give it him'; but the verb *nit-aramipwra* 'I give him food' would have better expressed the meaning aimed at.

5. 'Those-who-do-us-wrong as we-pardon-them, the-same pardon-thou-us when-we-do-wrong.' *Ni-kichiwinnara* 'I offend him by my conduct, *ni-kichihwi* 'I do wrong to myself'; comp. Pota. *kichiimidgin* (v. 31). *Ichi* 'as,' Chip. *iji*. *Ni-pwnikiteratwawa* 'I cease to be offended at him,' 'I pardon him'; comp. Potawatomi vv. 30, 31, Ottawa v. 28. *Rapi*, *rapigi* (same as *napi*, pet. 3), 'in like manner,' 'all the same.'

6. 'When-thou-ledest-us where-we-may-fall, make-us-strong'? I am not confident of the accuracy of this translation, for I can make nothing of the first verb, and suspect an error of the copyist. The second verb is from the primary *ni-pinechine* 'I fall down,' 3d pers. *pinechinwæ*. The last is from *chinchiwihwi* 'he makes him strong,' 'gives him strength,' causative from *chinchiw* 'strong, firm' (comp. *ni-chinchiwosi* 'I am strong'; *ni-chinchiwitehe* 'I am strong hearted,' Gr.; Chip. *nin-songis*, *nin-songidee*, Bar.).

7. 'From-evil deliver-us.' *Marewatongaracatchi* "au mal, au péche" (Gr.); the root *mare* denotes "something bad, evil"; *marewatwanto kihiahi* "confess thy fault," *ni-marewate* "I have missed the mark," have failed, &c. *Ni-chicwihwa* 'I save him, deliver him from his enemies,' whence *checwihiweta* 'one who saves,' 'the Saviour.'

Wintchihaha "plut a dieu que" (Gr.), lit. 'so do for us'; *ni-wintchiha* 'I do to him' good, or evil [the root, *wontchi* (Chip. *ondji*) means 'because of,' 'on account of,' and the verb causative, *ni-wintchiha* means, primarily, 'I do to him on account of' or 'because of' an implied motive; hence 'I reward him for,' and 'I punish him for,' and 'I do penance,' i. e. 'punish myself for it']. *Nichinagoka*, same as *ichinagoki* (comp. *nichinagatwi*, pet. 3) 'so [be it] done.'

37. ILLINOIS.

MODERN PEORIA?

From *Pewani ipi Potawatemi Missinoikan, eyowat nemadjik, Catholiques Endjik* (Baltimore, 1846), a R. C. primer for one of the mixed missions, Peoria and Potawatomi.*

Osimirangi peminge epiyan:

1. Wendja matchi tipatamangi kiwinisonimi.
2. Wendja matchi piyarotauwika kimauwioni.
3. Chayi kitaramitako yochi pemingi, wendja matchi nichiramitorangi wahe pemamikicingi.
4. Inongi wasewe mirinammi mitchiangi.
5. Ponigiterotauwinammi nimatchi mitoseniwionanni nichiponigiterotauwakki chingirauwerimidjik.
6. Kirahamawinammi ichka nissassiwangi.
7. Wendjisweriminammi nichika mereoki chiriniciwangi.

Wendja matchi nichinakoki.

A mission was established by Father Van Quickenborne (S. J.) in 1836, among the Kickapoos, and the Kaskaskias, Peorias, Weas, and Piankeshaws, remnants of the Illinois and Miami nations, near the Osage River, in the Indian Territory. In 1834, the Peorias numbered only 140, of all ages, and of the Kaskaskias only one man of the full blood and 60 half-breeds remained. A few years later, the Kickapoo mission was united with St. Mary's Potawatomi mission, on Sugar Creek,†—and the little primer from which this version is taken appears to have been prepared for the use of scholars from various tribes. At this time, “the Weas, Piankeshaws, Peorias, and Kaskaskias, were in fact but a single tribe. By frequent intermarriages and adoptions, their distinctive characteristics, if any ever existed, had disappeared. They resided upon the same territory, and spoke the same language.”‡

The dialect, as appears by comparing this version with the preceding, does not differ widely from that of Gravier's Peouaria mission. Comp. *Osimirangi*, *oussemiranghi*; *epiyan*, *epiane*; *kiwinisonimi*, *kiouinsounemi* (‘thy name’); *mirinammi*, *miriname* (‘give us’); *ponigiterotauwinammi*, *pounikiteroutaouiname* (‘forgive us’); &c.

* Pronounce: *g* always hard (= *gh* of Gravier); *w* as in English (= *u* of Gravier, *ou* of v. 36).

† Shea's *History of Am. Cath. Missions*, pp. 461–465.

‡ Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1851, pp. 7, 90.

Peminge 'on high' or 'in heaven,' in the invocation and 3d petition, is *speminghi* of Gravier, Shawano *spimmickie* (v. 34), Potaw. *shpumuk* (v. 30), Chip. *ishpiming* (v. 27).

Inongi wasewe 'to day' (pet. 4) = *nanghi wassewi*, Gr.; but *wassewi* means 'light' or 'day-light,' rather than 'day time,' and Gravier's *nanghi kakicoue* is the more correct.

Yochi . . . *wahe*, 'there' . . . 'here,' in pet. 3, = *ïwchi*, *wahi*, Grav.

37. SITSIKA (BLACKFOOT).

From Rev. P. J. De Smet's *Oregon Missions* (1845-6).

Kinanâ spoegsts tzittâpigpi:

1. Kitzinnekazen kagakomimokzin.
2. Nagkitapiwatog neto kinyokizip.
3. Kitizizigtaen nejakapestoeta tzagkom, nietziewae spoegsts.
4. Ikogkiowa ennoch matogkwitapi.
5. Istapikistomokit nagzikamoót komonetziewae nistowâ.
Nagkezis tãpi kestemoóg.
Spemmoók matéakoziép makapi.
Kamoemanitigtoep.

As translated by De Smet:

"Our-Father in-heaven who-art: Thy-name may-it-be-holy. ² Thy-reign may-it arrive. ³ Thy-will may-it-be-done on earth as-it-is in-heaven. ⁴ All-we-need this-day unto-us-grant. ⁵ Forgive the evil we have done as we pardon the wrong we have received. ⁶ Help-us against sin. ⁷ From-all what-is-evil deliver-us. May-it-be-so."

So little is yet known of the grammatical peculiarities of the Sitsika language, that it is hazardous to question either the merit of this version or the accuracy of De Smet's re-translation. Mr. Gallatin showed that of 180 words in the Sitsika vocabulary obtained by Mr. Hale, 54 had affinity with the Algonkin, and this fact authorized the inclusion of the language in the great Algonkin family. But its kinship to eastern members of that family is very remote. In a majority of words, Algonkin roots are so disguised by change of form or meaning that their identity is not easily established.

Several vocabularies, besides Mr. Hale's, have been published. Those to which I shall here refer are Dr. Hayden's—preceded by a valuable sketch of the grammar—in *Contributions to the Ethnology and Philology of the Indian Tribes of the Missouri Valley* (1862), pp. 257-273, J. B. Moncroie's, in

Schoolcraft's *Indian Tribes*, &c. (vol. ii. pp. 494-505), and Joseph Howse's in the *Proceedings of the Philological Society* (vol. iv. pp. 104-112).

In *Kinanâ* 'our Father,' I suspect the not uncommon mistake of employing the affixes of the *inclusive* plural, in the vocative. God may be properly spoken *of*, in the third person, as 'your and my (our) Father,' but may not be so *addressed* in the second person. The vocabularies, however, with a single exception, seem to indicate a disregard—or a very imperfect recognition of any distinction in the Sitsika dialect of the two forms of the first person plural. In Howse's (duplicate) vocabularies these forms are hopelessly confounded. Moncroe gives: "God, *Kinnan*, or my Father," and for "my Father, *Kinnan*"; but for "my son, *nocousse*," "my sister, *nists*," &c. Dr. Hayden says nothing of a distinction by pronominal affixes, but gives some examples of a peculiar form of *dual*, in verbs—by the insertion, between the pronoun and the stem, of *semi'sto* "both, or two"; e. g. *nitoiyâkhpinan* 'we are eating,' *n'semi'sto-yâkhpinan* 'we are both eating': *ia'ksoyîks* 'they are going to eat,' *ia'ksemisto-yîwaks* 'they two are going to eat'; and in some of his examples of verbs, the 1st and 2d persons plural appears to be both *exclusive*—"we ourselves alone," and 'you yourselves alone.' When the language is more thoroughly investigated, it will probably exhibit, in its dual and plural forms, closer affinities to the Dakota and Iroquois than to the eastern Algonkin.

The prefixed pronouns excepted, only two or three words in the whole of this version strike the eye as unmistakably Algonkin:

Kitzinnekazen 'thy name,' is Alg. *kit'ijinikazwin* (v. 23); *ninikōs'* "name," *sintikōs'* "his name" (Hayden)—but these mean, rather, 'I am called,' 'thou art called.'

Ennoch for 'to-day,' in the 4th petition, is the equivalent of Cree *annōoch* 'at present' (Howse); see v. 20b. *Nōkh** 'now' (Hayd.) *anouk* 'to-day' (M.). [Dakota, *na'ka*, *nakaH*, 'just now, to-day, lately.']

* *Kh* "as in Gaelic *Loch*"; *ch* as in *chin*, *church*.

Nietziewae 'so as' (pet. 4); comp. *komo-nietziewae* (pet. 6): where *ietzi* = Chip. *iji* 'so, like' — but suggests Dakota *hechin*, *hechecha*, *echen*, 'so,' and Assinib. *aitchaizi* 'so,' 'so as.' *Nitu'i* 'like,' *nato'tsi* 'so, in like manner' (Hayd.); in compos. *nüitso-*, *notse-*, 'like.'

In other words, the family likeness is less clearly traced: *spoegsts* 'on high' ("in heaven," De S.), represents Chip. *ishpiming*, Shawano *spimiki*, Pota. *shpumuk* (v. 30): comp. *spōh'tsi* 'above,' *spōkh'ts* 'sky,' *spi* 'high' (Hayd.).

Tzittāpigpi "who art" (De Sm.): *etapi* 'to live,' *kitzeta'tapi* 'you live,' *pi'it* 'sit down' (Hayd.); Alg. *epi-an* from *api* 'he sits, remains' (v. 23): *sahkaitahpai* 'he lives' (Howse), *apiu* 'to sit' (Hale).

Tzagkom "on earth," is from *sa'ko* 'ground' 'country'; *sakomi-itsio* 'in the ground' (Hayden); comp. *akh'o* 'land' *sukh'um* 'earth' (*ksahkoom*, Gal.) We have in this last only a faint reminder of Shaw. *assiski*, Cree *aski*, Chip. *aki* — to which Mr. Gallatin refers it. It is perhaps more nearly related to Chip. *-kamig*, an inseparable generic denoting 'place' and sometimes 'ground, land,' as in Chip. *anamakamig* 'under ground,' *mino-kamiga* 'the ground is good'; Cree *waskitas-kamik* 'on the [surface of the] earth.'

Ikogkiowa, which Mr. De Smet translates by "all we need," is *ikaku'yi* (Hayden) 'food,' literally, 'plenty to eat,' from *akau'i* 'much, a heap,' and *o'yi* 'he eats.' [So, Dakota *taka yutapi* 'food, something to eat,' *yu'ta* 'to eat,' *ya'ta* 'to speak,' *ya* (prefix) denoting action of the mouth, Riggs.]

The 5th, 6th, and 7th petitions are hopelessly tangled, and it is not surprising that Father De Smet quite lost trace of the original and mis-placed his interlinear translation. What he supposed to be the 6th was intended for the last clause of the 5th petition: the words *-netziewae nistowá* [*nistu'a* 'I, me'] for 'as we,' separate *istapikist-omokit nagzik-amoo't* from *nag-kez istapikest-emoóg*.

Makapi for "evil"; *makaps'* 'bad' (adj.), *bakaps'* 'bad, lazy'; *maksinum'* 'mean,' *nitokaps'* 'I am bad,' (Hayd.); *pa-kapsé* 'bad,' *machapsé* 'ugly' (Moncr.).

